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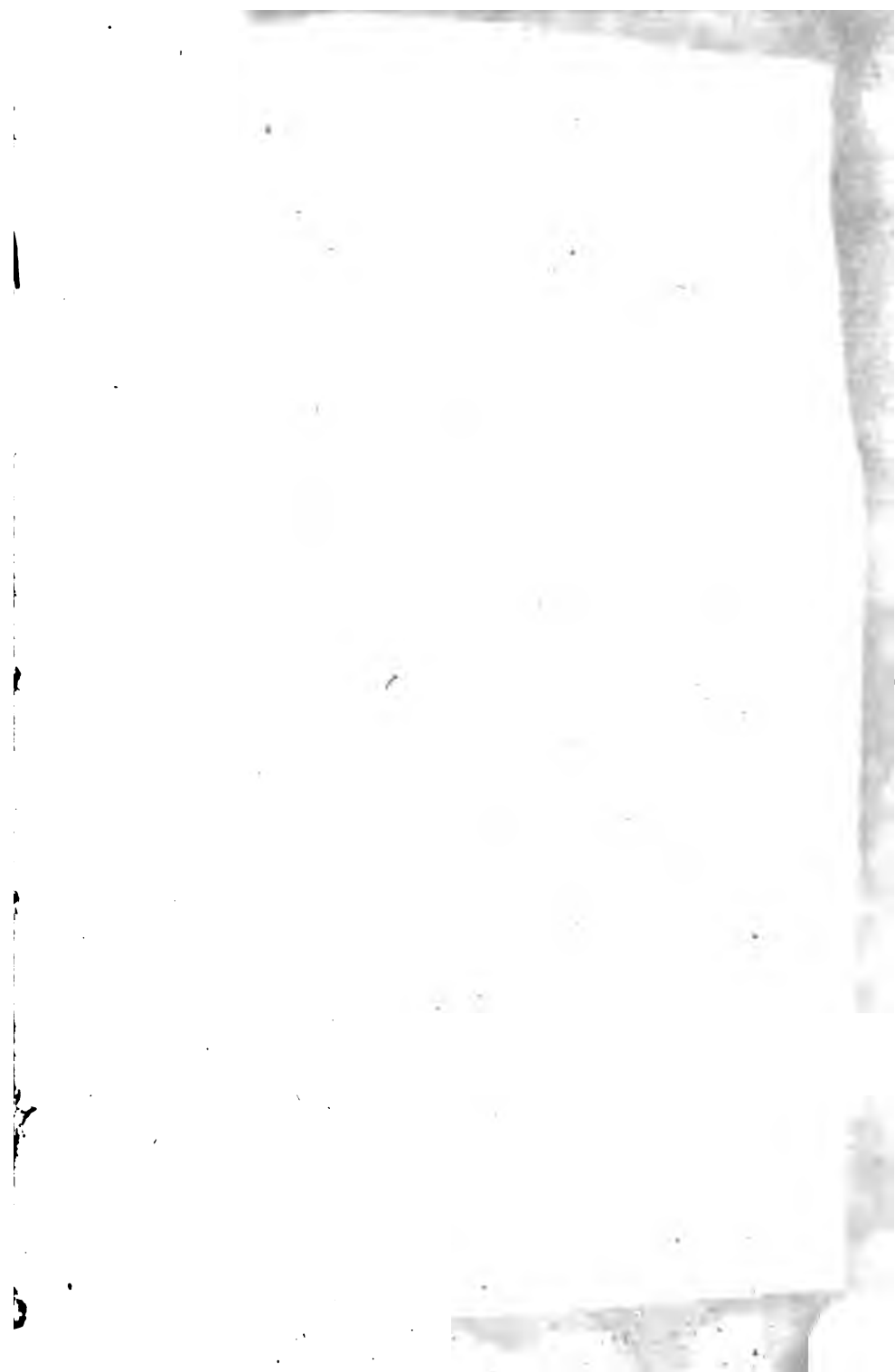
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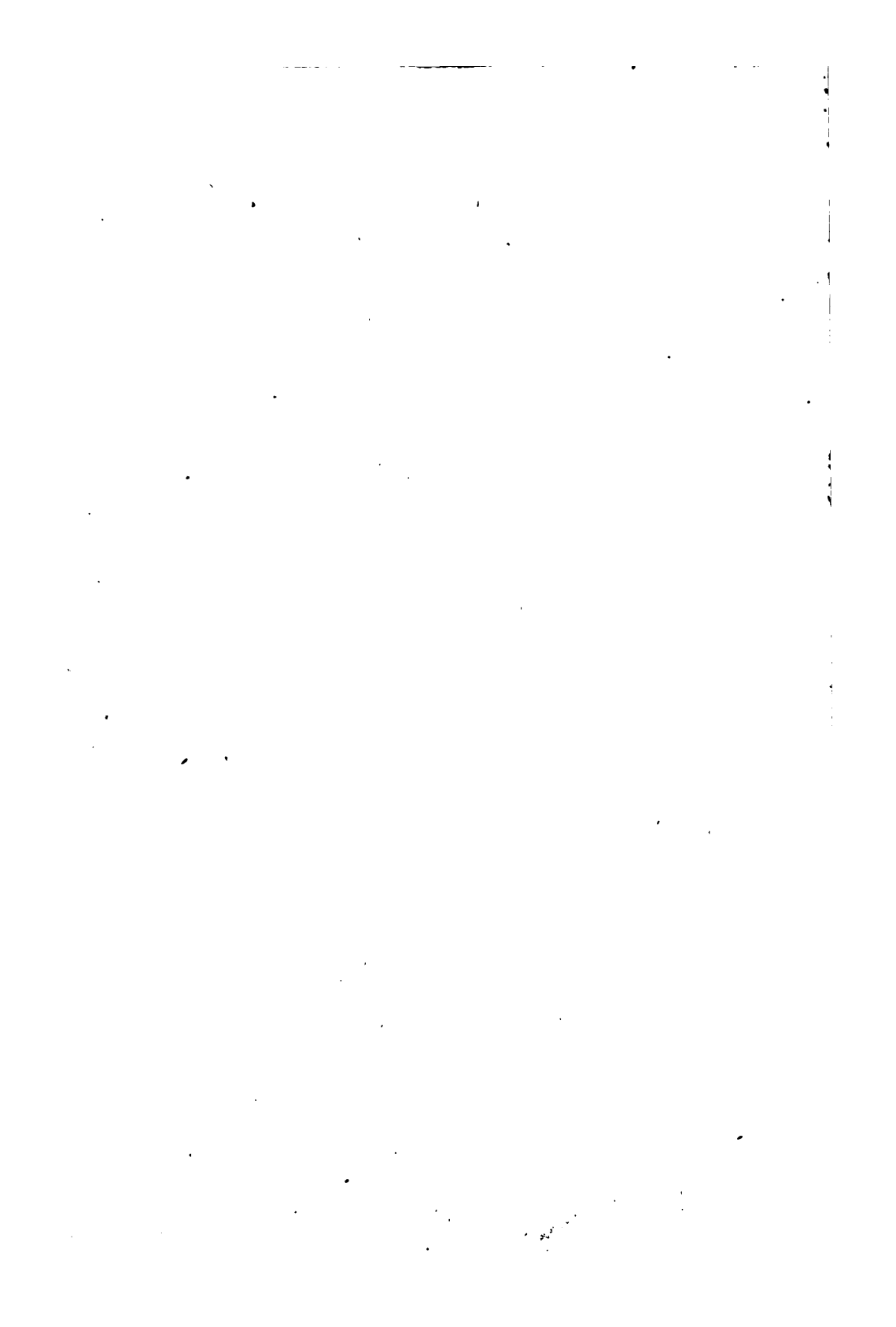
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Answer

Τῶν Παλαιῶν,

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ, ΛΥΣΙΟΥ,

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ, ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΙ.



Εν ΟΞΟΝΙΑ.

Ετι αψξκ'



292. f. 44.

Funeral Eulogies

Upon MILITARY MEN

from

THUCYDIDES, LYSIAS,
PLATO, XENOPHON.

In the Original Greek.

To which are added

Extracts from CICERO.

With Observations and Notes in English.

The Second Edition.

O X F O R D,

At the THEATRE. 1768,



Ε Π Ι Γ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α.

ΟΙΔΕ πάτρας ἔνεχα σφετέρως, εἰς δῆριν ἔγενε
 Οπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπιοκέδασαι,
 Μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος, ὅς κ' ἐσάωσαν
 Ψυχάς, ἀλλ' αἰδὴν κοινὸν ἔγεντο βράβη,
 Οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι γένηες
 Δαλοσυῶς συγχεῖν ἀμφὶς ἔχων ὕβριν.
 Γαῖα ᾗ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις ᾗ πλεῖστα χαμόντων
 Σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἔκ Διὸς ἥδε κείσις.
 Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ὅστι Θεῶν, καὶ πάντα χαθαρῶν
 Εἰ βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν ἔπορε.

*

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ.

Μυριάσθι ποτὲ τῇδε τρηκυσίαις ἐμάχοντο
 Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

.....

Ω ξέν', ἄγγελον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
 Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

.....

Μῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγίστα, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
 Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναι ἀμειψόμενοι,
 Μάντιος· ὅς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένης σάφα εἰδώς,
 Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας πωλιπεῖν.

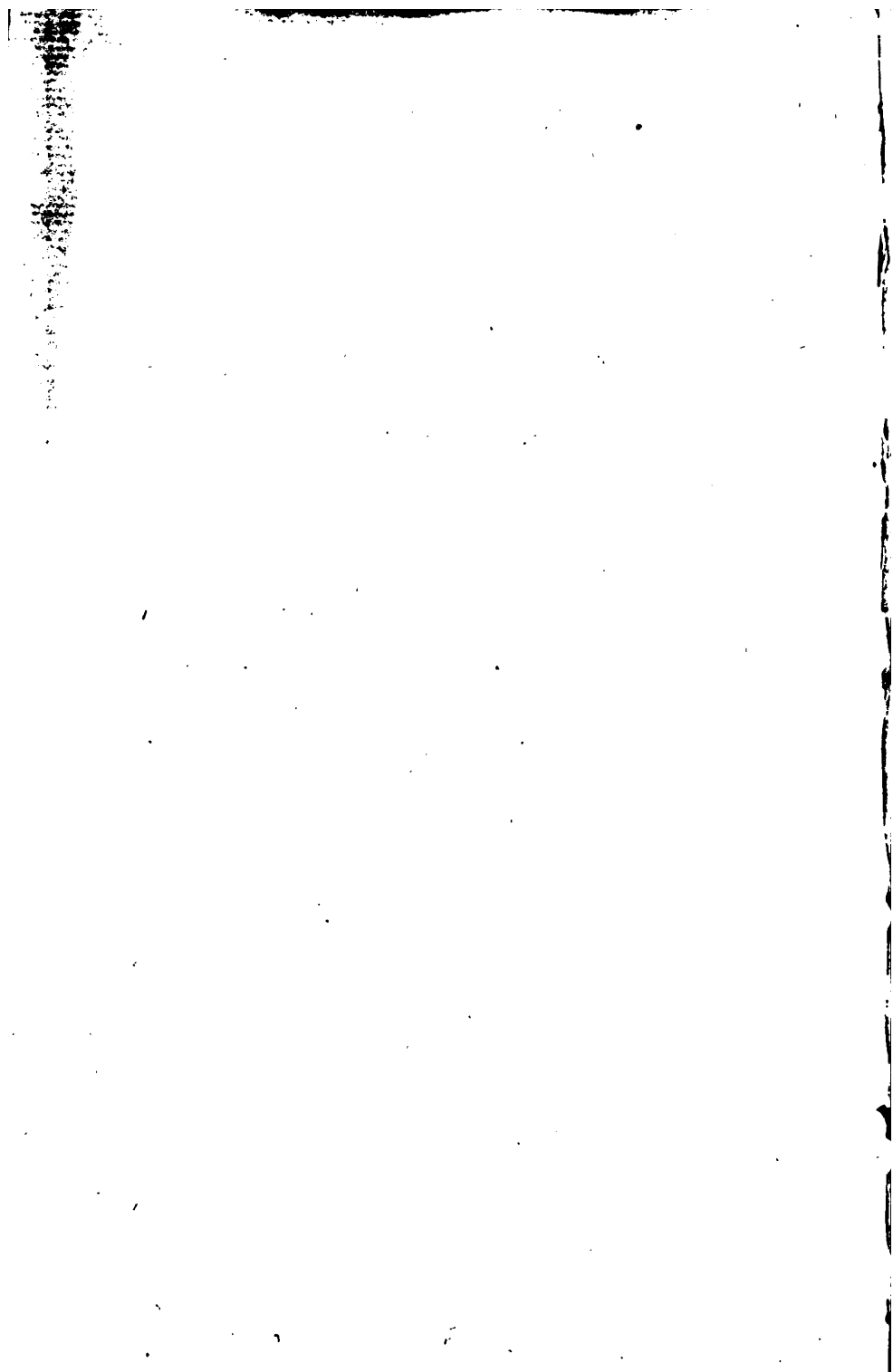
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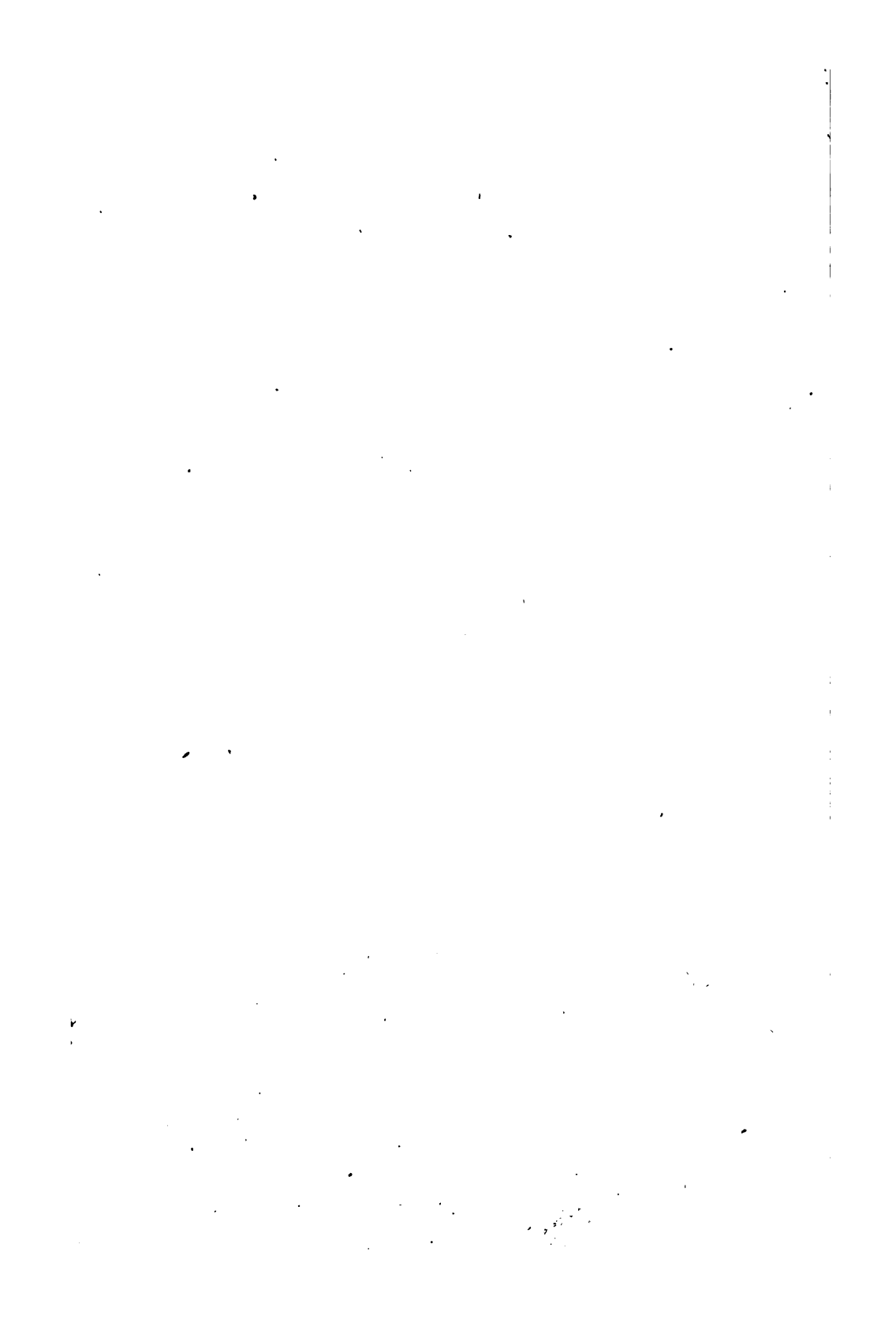
Τῶν δὲ Θερμοπύλαις γιγνόντων
 Εὐκλείης περὶ αὐτῆς, καλὸς δ' ὁ
 Πότμος, βαρὺς δ' ὁ πάθος
 Περγάνων τε μάστις ὁ δ' οὐρανός
 Ἐπαιος. ἀντάφοντος δ' τοῦτον
 Οὐτ' εὐρὺς, οὐδ' ὁ πάνθεομάτωρ
 Αἰμαυρὰς χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.
 Οὐδ' οὐκ οἰκετῶν εὐδοξίαν
 Ἐλλάδος εἰσεῖς μαρτυρῆς δ' Ἀσπίδας
 Οὐ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετῆς μέγαν
 Λελοιπὼς κόσμος, ἀετιόωντες κλέος.

Υ Π Ο Θ Ε Σ Ι Σ
ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Θεωδ. Ξυγγρ. Β. λδ'.

ΕΝ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι, αἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρὶ
νόμῳ χράμενοι, δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐν
τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ περὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντων, τῷ ὅτῃ τὰ
μὲν ὅσα περὶ τῶν ἀποθανόντων, περὶ τῶν σκηνῶν
5 ποιεῖσάντες, καὶ ὑπερέχει τῷ αὐτῷ ἕκαστος ἢ τι βύληται·
ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ἦ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσῆας ἀγ-
σιν ἁμαξῶν, φυλῆς ἕκαστης μίαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἦς
ἕκαστος ἢ φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίτη κενὴ φέρεται ἐτραμμένη
τῶν ἀφαιῶν, οἱ δὲ μὴ εὐρεθῶσι ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. Ξυνεκφέρει
10 δὲ ὁ βυβλόμενος καὶ ἀστὴν καὶ ξένων. καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεσιν
αἱ περὶ τὸν τάφον, ὀλοφυσμέναι. πιδέσιν
οὕτω ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὅ ὅτιν ὅτι τῷ καλλίστῳ τρα-
γεῖᾳ τῆς πόλεως. (καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτεται τὸς ἐκ
τῶν πολέμων, πλην γὰρ τὸς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. ἐκείνων δὲ ἀφ-
15 ὅρου τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναιτες, αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν.)
Α ἐπειδὴ





4 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Χρόματα γὰρ πολιτεία ἔχει ζήλοισι τοῦ πᾶσι πᾶσι νό-
 μους, ὡς δὲ δεικνύει ὅτι αὐτοὶ μάλλον ὅσους τισὶν, ἢ μιμνᾶ-
 μενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὅνομα μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ'
 ἐς πλείους οἰκεῖν, Δημοκρατία κέκληται. μέτεστι γὰρ, καὶ
 μὲν τὸς νόμους, ὡς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, καὶ 5
 δὲ πᾶσι ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίᾳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ
 μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται·
 οὐδ' αὖ καὶ πεινᾶν, ἔχει δὲ τι ἀγαθὸν δοῦναι πᾶσι πᾶσι,
 ἀξιόμαχος ἀφανεία κεκάλυπται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς
 τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν, καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῆς 10
 κατ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύματι ὑποφίαν, οὐδὲ ὅρῃς τὸν
 πέλας, εἰ κατ' ἡδοὴν τι δοῖν, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν,
 λυπηρὰς γὰρ τῇ ἑαυτῶν, ἀχρηδόντας προσιδέμενοι ἀνεπαχῶς
 δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσμολοῦντες, τὰ δημόσια ἀλλὰ δέουσα μά-
 λιστα ἔχει νομοῦμεν, πᾶσι τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὅταν ἀκροάσθαι, 15
 καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν
 ἀδικουμένων κείνῃ, καὶ ὅσοι ἀγροικοὶ ὄντες αἰσχύνῃ ὁμολογεῖ-
 μένῃ φέρουσι.

Καὶ μὴ καὶ τῶν πᾶσι πλείους ἀναπαύσας τῇ γνῶμῃ
 ἐποείσαμεθα, ἀλλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις νομίζου- 20
 ντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατὰ σκοδαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν κατ' ἡμέραν ἢ
 τέρψιν τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπιστρέφοντα δὲ ἀλλὰ μέ-
 γεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα· καὶ ξυμ-
 βαίνει ἡμῶν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτῷ ἀγα-
 θὰ.

Τῶν Παλαιῶν,

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ, ΛΥΣΙΟΥ,

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ, ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΙ.



Εν ΟΞΟΝΙΑ.

Ετι αψξη'



202. 144.

6 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Καὶ ἂν τε τέτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι γαυμάζεσθαι, καὶ
 ἔτι οὐ ἄλλοις φιλοχλευόμεναι τε γὰρ μετ' εὐταλείας, καὶ
 φιλοσοφούμεναι ἀνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἐν
 καιρῷ ἢ λόγῳ κόμπῳ χράμεθα· καὶ ὁ πέπαις ἔχῃ ὁμο-
 λογῆναι τῇ αἰσχυρῇ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀφραδύγειν ἔργῳ, αἴσχυρι. 5
 Ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκίῃσι ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῇ ὀπιμέλεια, καὶ
 ἐτέρῃσι πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμόναις, τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδιῶς
 γινώσκαι· μέντοι καὶ τοῖς τε μηδ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέχουσιν, ἐκ ἀκρά-
 μισι ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κένομεν γὰρ ἢ
 εὐθυμώμεθα ὁρῶντες τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ τὸς λόγους τοῖς ἑρ- 10
 γοῖς βλάπτει ἡγεύμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ δαχθῆναι μᾶλλον
 λόγῳ πρῶτον ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ δὲ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. ἀφραδύγους καὶ
 ἀπὸ καὶ τὸδε ἔχομεν, ὅτι τολμᾷν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσονται, ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμα-
 γία μὲν θράσους, λογισμὸς δὲ ὅκνου φέρει. κρετίστοι δ' αὖ 15
 τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέ-
 στατα γινώσκοντες, καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ
 τῶν κινδύνων. Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἡγουμένετα τοῖς πολ-
 λοις· καὶ καὶ πάγοντες εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες, κτάμεθα τὸς φί-
 λους· βεβαιότερος ἢ ὁ δρῶντας τὴν χάριν, ὅτι οὐ φιλομένει 20
 δι' εὐνοίας ὅτι δίδωκε σάξιν· ὁ δ' ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύπτερος,
 εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδύσκει.
 καὶ μέντοι οὐ τῷ ξυμφέρειος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ, ἢ τῆς ἐλδο-
 υρείας καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀδύτης τὴν ὀφειλῇται.

Ξυμελάν

Ζωυλόν τε λέγω, τήν τε πᾶσαι πόλιν ἢ Ἑλλάδα
 παιδῶσιν ἔῃ), ἡ καθ' ἕκαστον δακεῖν αἰ μοι τ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρα
 πρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείους εἶδη, καὶ μὲν χεῖρτον μάλιστα αἰ ἐν-
 τραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐτάρκεις πῆχυσας. ἡ ὡς ἐ λόγων
 5 οἱ τῷ παρόντι κόμπῃ ταῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ὅστιν ἀλήθεια,
 αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις ἢ πῶλεως ἦν ἔκ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκ-
 τησάμεθα, σημαίνει. μόνη γὰρ τ' νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσει ἐς πεί-
 ραν ἔρχῃ. ἡ μόνη οὔτε ὅσον πολέμῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀναγκάστη-
 σι ἔχῃ ὑφ' οἷον κακοπαθῇ, οὔτε τῷ ὑπὸ κρόῳ κατὰ μέμψαν
 10 ὡς ἔχῃ ὑπὸ ἀξίῳ ἄρχῃ. μὲν μοῖαν δὲ σημείων καὶ
 ἢ δήτοι ἀμάρτυρον γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν παραχρόνιοι, τοῖς τε
 νῦν ἡ τοῖς ἐπειθε θαυμαστούμια. ἡ ὅστις περὶ τῶνδε
 οὔτε Ομήρου ἐπαινεῖται, οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεισι μὲν πομπήν τε τέρψι,
 τ' δ' ἔργων τ' ὑπονοῖαι ἢ ἀλήθεια βλέψῃ. ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι
 15 μὲν γάλασσαν ἡ γλῶσσαν ἐσθλατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ χεῖρα
 χεῖσαντες θμῆα, πανταχοῦ ἢ μνημεῖα χεῖρων τε καὶ γὰρ
 αἶδρα συγκατακίσαντες. περὶ τοιαύτης οὕτω πῶλεως οἶδε
 τε θναίως, δικαίοντες μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτῇ, μαχόμενοι
 ἐπιδύτησαν, καὶ τ' λειπομέων πόμτα πρὸς εἰκὸς ἐθέλει
 20 ὑπὸ αὐτῆς κέμναι.

Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν
 τε ποιῶμεν μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς
 πᾶσι μὴδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως, ἡ τ' εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς
 νῦν λέγω φέρειν σημείους κατὰ τὰς. καὶ ἔρη) αὐτῆς τὰ
 μέγιστα

μέγιστα. ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῆ τοιοῦνδε
 ἀρετῇ ἐκόσμησαν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσθόρο-
 πῳ, ὥσπερ τῶνδε, ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φαίνεται. δοκᾷ δέ
 μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν, τρεῖς τε μινύσσα, καὶ τελευ-
 ταία βεβαῖον, ἣ νῦν τῶνδε χαλκωρεῖται. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς 5
 πᾶσι χεῖρες δίκαιοι τῇ ἐς τὰς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς
 πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίας προτίθεσθαι ἀγαθῶ γὰρ κακῶν
 ἀφανίσαντες, κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν, ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας
 ἐβλάψαν. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πολούτης τις τινὲς ἔτι σπύλαυσι
 προτιμήσας ἐμαλακίᾳ, οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ 10
 ἀφρογῶν αὐτῶν πλετήσκειν, ἀναβολῇ τῆς δεινῆς ἐποιή-
 σατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐδωκῶν τιμωρίας ποδονοτέραν αὐτῶν
 λαβόντες, καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τῶνδε χέλλισιν νομίσαντες,
 ἠβελήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῆς δὲ ἐφίεσθαι·
 ἐλπίδι μὲν ὅτι ἀφρόνεις τῶν χαλκωρῶσιν ὀπιτρεψόμενοι, ἔργῳ 15
 δὲ ὅτι ἤδη ὀρωμένους σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι· καὶ
 εἰ αὐτῶν ὅτι ἀμυνάσθαι καὶ παθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἡγοσάμενοι, ἢ
 πρὸς ἐδόντες σώζεσθαι, ὅτι μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἔστι λόγῳ ἔφυγον, ὅ
 δὲ ἔργῳ ὅτι σώματι ὑπέμεινον, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου χαιροῦ
 τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν δέους ἀπηνάλα- 20
 γησαν.

Καὶ οἷός τις μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοῦδε ἐθροῖτο· τὰς
 δὲ λοιποὺς χρήσιμον ἀσφαλετέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν
 δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τῆς ἐς τὰς πολέμους ἀφρογῶν ἔχειν, σχε-
 πυντάς

πάντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τ' ἀφέλεια· ἢ αἱ τις πρὸς οὐδὲν
 χεῖρον αὐτῆς ὑμᾶς εἰδὼτας μὲντοι, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τῆς
 πολέμους ἀμύνασθ' ἀγαθὰ ἐνεστίν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς
 πόλεως δυνάμιν κατ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θωπεύουσιν, καὶ ἐρατὰς
 5 γηρομένους αὐτῆς. καὶ ὅταν ὑμῶν μεγάλη δόξα εἴηαι, οὐ-
 θυμυμόνοις ὅτι πολυῶντες, καὶ γηρώσκοις τὰ δέοντα, καὶ
 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκλήσαντο· καὶ ὅποτε
 καὶ πείρα τὴ σφαιλείησαν, οὐκ οὐ καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τὴ σφι-
 τέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιούντες περιέκυν, κάλλιπον δὲ ἔρανοι αὐτῇ
 10 περιέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τ' ἀγῆ-
 ρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ὀππρημότατοι, οὐκ
 οὐ καὶ κύντα μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ
 ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργῳ καίρῳ ἀείμνησθ' κατα-
 λείπει. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὀππρημῶν πᾶσα γῆ τέφροσθ', καὶ ἐν γῇ
 15 λῶν μόνον οὐ τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνῃ ὀππρηφῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ
 μὴ ὀππρηφῇ ἀγροφῇ μνήμη παρ' ἐκείνῳ τῆς γνώμης
 μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι ἔργου ἐνδαιψάται. οὐκ ἦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες,
 καὶ τὸ εὐδαίμων, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἡ ἐλδύθερον, τὸ εὐφρον
 κρίναντες, μὴ θεωρεῖσθε τῆς πολέμικῆς κινδύνους. καὶ γὰρ
 20 ὁ κακοπραγούνης δικαιοτέρῳ ἀφειδοῖεν ἢ τῷ βίῳ, οἷς
 ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστι ἀγαθῇ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐνδοκίᾳ μεταβολὴ οὐ
 τὸ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται, καὶ οὐ οἷς μάλιστα μέγαλα τὰ
 ἀφαιρῶνται, ἢ τι πιάσωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ γε
 φρέσσημα ἔχοντι ἢ οὐ τὸ μὲν τοῦ μαλακιοῦναι κάκωσις,

10 ΠΕΡΙ ΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοιῆς ἐλπίδι· ἅμα γιγνόμεν·
ἀναίδης θάνατι.

Διόπερ καὶ τοὺς πῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρετε, οὐκ
ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρμυθήσομαι. ἐν πολυτρόποις
ᾧ ξυμποραῖς ὁπίσται) τραφέντες. τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἱ ἀνδ
τῆς ἐνπρεπεστάτης λήχων, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲ νῦν, πελοπῆς,
ὑμεῖς ἢ λύπης· ἐν οἷς ἐνυδαίμονησά τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως
ἐν ἐπλευτήσῃ ξυμεμετήθη. χαλεπὸν μὲ οὖν οἶδα πεί-
θειν ὅτι, ὡς καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων
εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη ἔχ
ὡς ἀν τις μὴ πειρασάμεν· ἀγαθῶν τεύκεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔ
ἀν ἐπὶ θνήσκον· ἀφαιρεθῆναι. καρτερῆν ἢ χρὴ ἐν ἄλλων
παίδων ἐλπίδι, οἷς ἐπὶ ἡλικία τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι. ἰδίᾳ τε
ᾧ τῷ οὐκ ὄντων λήθῃ· ὁππότε γινόμενοι πῶν ἔσονται· ἐν
τῇ πόλει διχόθει, ἔκ τε τῆ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι, καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ
ξυνοίσειν. ἐν γὰρ οἷόν τε ἴσόν τι ἢ δίκαιον βυλδύεσθαι οἱ ἀν
μὴ ἐν παῖδας ἐκ τῆ ὁμοίᾳ ὡς βαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν.
ὅσοι δ' αὖ πρὸς ἡγήσασθε, τὸν τε πλείονα, κέρδος ὅτι, εὐτυ-
χεῖτε βίον· ἠγεῖσθε καὶ τὸνδε βραχυῶ ἔσθαι, ἐν τῇ πῶνδε
εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθε. ὅ γὰρ φιλόπῳσι ἀνθρώπων μόνον· ἐν ἔκ
ἐν τῷ ἀχρείᾳ τῇ ἡλικίας τὸ καρδαίνειν, ὥσπερ πῶντες φασί,
μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ ὅτι πῶνσθαι.

Παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι πῶνδε πάρετε, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς, ὅρα μέ-
γαν τὸ ἀγῶνα. τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὅτι ἅπας εἶωθεν ἐπαυῆναι· ἐν
μέγας

Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ. 11

μάλισ' ἀν' ἑαυτὸν ὑπερφολὴν ἀρετῆς ἔχ' ὅμοιοι ἄλλ' ὀλίγω
 χεῖρες κριδείητε. φθότος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι παρὲς τοὶ ἀντίπα-
 λοι· ὅς τ' μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀναγκαζοίτω εὐνοία τῇμηλια.

Εἰ δέ με δὴ καὶ γυναικείας τὴν ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χρεῖα
 ἔϊσονται, μεταθῆται, βραχείᾳ παραπίσθ' ἅπαν σημαίω. ὅ
 τε γὰρ ὑπαρχύσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι θμείω, ὑμῶν μεγάλη
 ἡ δόξα, καὶ οἷς ἀν' ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἡ ψόγος οἷ
 τοῖς ἄρσενι κλέος ἦ.

Εἴρη) καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ νόμοι ὅσα ἔχουσι παρὰ σφοδρά-
 ρα καὶ ἔργῳ, αἱ θαυμάσιοι, τὰ μὲν, ἥδη κεκόσμηται τὰ δὲ,
 αὐτῶν δὲ παῖδας τὸ σὺν τῷδε δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλιν μέχρις
 ἥβης θρέψῃ, ἀφ' ἑλπίμον τέφανον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομέ-
 νοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγόνων παρρηθεῖσα. ἀθάλα. γὰρ οἷς κῆτα
 ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖσδε καὶ ἄνδρες ἀέλτοι πολυτράχυνται. ἦν δὲ
 ἀπολοφραδύμοι ὅν παρρηθὶ ἐκάσω, ἀπτε.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ,

Η,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ,

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ.

Εξ ἀνθρώπων, ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; ΜΕ. Εξ ἀνθρώπων,
ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλευτήριον. ΣΩ. Τί
μάλιστα σὺ πρὸς βασιλευτήριον; ἢ δηλαδὴ ὅτι παιδεύσεως
καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τέλει ἡγήει; καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρὸς ἤδη ἔχων,
ἐπὶ ταῖς μέγιστο ὅκτινοῖς τρέπεσθαι; καὶ ἄρχων ἡμῶν, ὃς
θαυμάσιε, ὅτι χερεῖς τῶν ὀρεσβυτέρων, τηλικαῦτόν ὄν,
ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἡμῶν ἡ οἰκία ἀεὶ τινα ἡμῶν ὅτι μελὴ τιλῶ
πρὸς χαλκῶν; ΜΕ. Εὰν σύ γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔἴς τε συμ-
βουλεύῃ ἄρχων, πρὸς θυμῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὔ. Νυνὶ μένοι
ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸ βασιλευτήριον, πυθόμενοι ὅτι ἡ βασιλ¹⁰
μέλλει αἰρεῖσθαι ὅστις ἐρᾷ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανόντι. ταφὰς γὰρ
οἶδ' ὅτι μέλλουσι ποιεῖν. ΣΩ. Πάνυ γε. Ἀλλὰ τίνα εἴ-
λοντο; ΜΕ. Οὐδένα· ἀλλὰ ἀνέβαντο εἰς τὴν αὔριον.
οἶμα μὲντοι Ἀρχῶν ἢ Δίονα αἰρεθήσεσθαι. ΣΩ. Καὶ
μὲν, ὦ Μενέξενε, πολλὰ χροὶ κινδυνεύει χαλὸν εἶναι τὸ σ¹⁵

πολέμῳ

πολέμῳ ὑποθήσκει· καὶ ᾧ ταφῆς χαλῆς τε καὶ μεγα-
 λοπρεπούς τυγχάνῃ· καὶ ἐὰν πέπης τις ὦν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ αὖ ἔτυχῃ· καὶ ἐὰν φαῦλος ᾦ, ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν τε
 καὶ οὐκ ἐκῇ ἐπαινοῦνται, ἀλλὰ ὥς πολλοὶ χρεὼν λόβους
 5 παρεσκευασμένων· οἱ οὗτοι χαλῶς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ
 προσόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ δεῖ ἐκαστὸν λέγοντες, κάλλιστα πως
 τοῖς ὀνόμασι ποικίλλοντες, γρηπύουσιν ἡμῖν τὰς ψυχὰς,
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκωμιάζοντες καὶ πάντας τρεποῖς, ἔτις
 τελευτηκότας ὡς τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τοὺς πορογόνους ἡμῖν
 10 ἄπαντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπὶ ζῶ-
 ντας ἐπαινοῦντες. ὥς· ἔγωγε, ὦ Μενέξενε, θηναίως πάν-
 τ' ἀγαπήμεθα, ἐπαινέμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐκάστου ἔσθλα
 ἀκροώμενος καὶ κηλούμεθα, ἡρώμενος ὡς τῷ παραχρῆμα
 μείζων καὶ θηναίότερος καὶ χαλλίῳ γενεῖται. καὶ οἷα δὴ
 15 τὰ πολλὰ αἰεὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ ξένοι πινὲς ἐπιπίναν καὶ ξυμυκρόον-
 ται· ὥς οὗς ἐγὼ σιμνότερον ὡς τῷ παραχρῆμα γίνο-
 μεθα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κείνους ταυτὰ πάντα δοκῶσιν μοι πᾶσιν
 καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, θαυμασιωτέραν
 αὐτῇ ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ἢ πρῶτον, ὑπὸ τοῦ λέγοντο
 20 ἀναπειρόμενοι. καὶ μοι αὕτη ἡ σιμνότης παραμυθία ἡμέ-
 ρας πλείων ἢ πρῶς· οὕτως ἑαυλὸς ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγος
 ὥς τῷ λέγοντο· ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥς μόνης το-
 τάρτη ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναμνησκόμεθα ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ αἰ-
 θάτομεθ' οὗ γῆς ἐμὴ· τέως δὲ οἶμ' ἐμοὶ μοιαιόμην ὡς μαχάραν
 ἦσσις

ἡσίοις οἰκεῖν. οὕτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοὶ εἰσὶ. ΜΕ. Αὐεῖ
 σὺ τρασσαίεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς ῥήτορας· νῦν μέντοι
 οἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν αἰρεθέντα ἔσθ' αὖτις εὐπορήσειν. εἰς ὑπογίγνῃ
 γὰρ πάντ' ἀπασιν ἡ αἵρεσις γένηται· ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται
 ἔλεγον ὥσπερ αὐτοχρεδιάζειν. ΣΩ. Πόθεν, ὦ ῥαδί; εἰσὶν
 ἐκάστοις τέττονι λόγῳ παρεσκευασμένοι· καὶ ἅμα ὅσθι αὐτο-
 χρεδιάζειν τά γε τοιαῦτα χαλεπόν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύο Ἀθηναῖους
 ἐν Πελοπονησίοις εὖ λέγειν, ἢ Πελοπονησίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις,
 ἀγαθοῦ ἀνὴρ ῥήτορ· δύο τοῦ πέσοντος καὶ εὐδουκμήσουτος
 ὅταν δέ τις ἐν τέτοις ἀγωνίζηται ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ, ὅσθι 10
 μέγα δοκεῖ εὖ λέγειν. ΜΕ. Οὐκ οἶδ', ὦ Σώκρατες; ΣΩ.
 Οὐ μέντοι, μὰ Δία. ΜΕ. Ἡ οἷε οἷός τ' ἀνέηται αὐτός.
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δύο, καὶ ἔλοιτό σε ἡ βουλή; ΣΩ. Καὶ ἐμοὶ
 μέν γε, ὦ Μειέζετε, ὅσθι θάυμαστον, οἷα τ' εἶναι εἰπεῖν, ὅ
 τυγχάνη διδάσκαλος οὔσα οὐ πάλιν φαύλη πρὸς ῥητορικῆς, 15
 ἀλλ' ἥπερ καὶ ἄλλες πολλὰς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε ῥήτορας,
 ἔτα δὲ καὶ ἀχχέροντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Περικλέα τὸν Ξαν-
 θίππου. ΜΕ. Τίς αὖτις; ἢ δηλονότι Λαωασίαν λέγεις;
 ΣΩ. Λέγω γάρ· καὶ Κόνον γε τὸν Μητροβίβη. ἔτι γάρ
 μοι δύο εἰσὶ διδάσκαλοι· ὁ μὲν μουσικῆς ἡ δὲ ῥητορικῆς. 20
 οὕτω μὲν οὕτω πεφόμενον ἄνδρα ὅσθι θάυμαστον δεινὸν εἶναι
 λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοὶ κάκιον ἐπαιδεύθη, μουσικῶς
 μὲν ὑπὸ Λάμπρου παιδοδιδάκτης, ῥητορικῶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντι-
 φωνί· τῷ Ράμνησί, ὅμως καὶ ἔστος οἷός τ' εἶναι Ἀθηναῖος

γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπακῶν εὐδοκμεῖν. ΜΕ. Καὶ τί αὖ ἔχοις
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι σε λέγειν; ΣΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν πρῶτον ἑμμαντοῦ
 ἴσως οὐδέν. Ασπασίας, δὲ καὶ χθὲς ἠκροάμην, περιαιύσης
 ὀπιταῖφιοι λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου. ἤκουσε γὰρ ἅπερ σὺ
 5 λέλεις, ὅτι μέλλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι αἰρεῖσθαι ἔργοντα. ἔπειτα τὰ
 μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὄψιμα μοι διήλθον, οἷα δέοι λέγειν, τὰ δὲ,
 πρῶτον ἐσκεμμένη ὅτε, μοι δοκῇ, σιωπήσῃ τὸν ὀπι-
 ταῖφιοι λόγον ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε, περιλείμματ' ἄλλα ἔξ
 ἐκείνης συλλογῶσα. ΜΕ. Ἡ καὶ μνημοεύσαις αὖ ἀέλε-
 10 γει Ασπασία; ΣΩ. Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε ἑμάνθανόν γε τοι
 πρῶτον αὐτῆς καὶ ὀλίγα πληρὰς ἔλαβον ὅτι ἐπελαινθαιόμενον.
 ΜΕ. Τί θ' ἔστι διήλθες; ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ μοι χαλεπανθῇ
 ἡ διδασκαλός, αὖ ἔξεργάσω αὐτῆς τὸν λόγον. ΜΕ. Μη-
 δαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἄλλ' εἰπέ, καὶ πάνυ μοι χαρεῖν, εἴτε
 15 Ασπασίας βουλὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ὅττιοι. ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπέ.
 ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ἴσως μου χαταγέλῃ, αὖ σοι δόξω, πρῶτον
 τῆς ὧν, ἐπὶ παύσειν. ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἄλλ'
 εἰπέ παντὶ τῷ ὄπῳ. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι σοί γε δὴ χαρεῖ-
 20 ζεσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγου, εἰ με κελύβοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχή-
 σασθαι, χαρισταίμην αὖ, ἐπειδὴ γε μόνον ἐσμέν. Ἄλλ' ἄγε.
 ἔλεγε γὰρ ὡς ἐγώ μιν, ἀρξαμένη λέγειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
 παλαιῶν, ὅπως.

ΕΡΓΩ, μὲν ἡμῶν οἷδ' ἔχουσι τὰ πλεονέκτα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· (αἱ τυχόντες πορεύονται τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ πορείᾳ, προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων) λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λευκόμην πόσειον ὃ, τι νόμος πρεσβυτέρῳ ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρή· ἔργον γὰρ οὗτος πρὸς χρίσιν, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μήμηρ καὶ κόσμος τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις γίνεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀκουσάντων. δὲ δὴ τυαίνετι πρὸς λόγου, ὅστις τὸς μὲν τελευτησάντας ἰσχυρῶς ἐπαπείσεται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς πρὸς αὐτούς· ἰσχυροῖς μὲν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς μιμεῖσθαι· ἡ τῶνδε ἀρετῇ παρακελεύομενος· πα- 10 τέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ εἴπεις τῶν ἀνῶν ἐπὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ λείπονται, τέττες δὲ παραμυθούμενος. Τίς οὖν αἱ ἡμῶν τοιούτων λόγος φαίνεται; ἢ πόθεν αἱ ῥῆσες ἀρξαίμεθα ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαπείντες, οἱ ζῶντες τε τὸς ἑαυτῶν εὐφραινοὶ δι' ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἡ τελευτῇ ἀντὶ τῆς ζῶντος σωτηρίας 15 ἡλλάξαντο;

Δοκῶ μοι χρῆται, καὶ φύσις, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἐχθροῖς, ἔτι καὶ ἐπαπείν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φιῶναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν· ἡ εὐφραίνει οὖν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐγκωμιάζομεν· δευτέρῳ γὰρ, προσφῶν τε καὶ παιδείαν· ὅτι δὲ τέτοις, τῇ 20 τῶν ἔργων πρῶτον ὀφειδίζομεν, ὡς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τέτην ἀπεφῆσαντο.

Τῆς δ' εὐφραίνει πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἡ τῶν προγόνων ἡμέσις, ὅσα ἐπιπλεῖ οὖσα, ἥδε τὸς ἰσχυροῖς τέττες σῶτα φημαμένη

φησαμένη μεθικύνθαι, ὡς τῇ χάρι, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων,
 ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ πρὸ ὅτι ὡς πατρὶδι οἰκοῦντας καὶ
 ζῶντας, καὶ πεφοιμένους ὅθεν ὑπὸ μητρὸς, ὡς ἄλλοι,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρός, τῆς χάρις ὡς ἡ ὥκουσ' καὶ ἦν κεί-
 5 ναι τελειότησιν, ὡς οἰκείαις τόποις ὅς τεύχεσι καὶ θρε-
 ψάσι καὶ ὑποδεξαμένης. Διχαϊότατοι δὲ κοσμήσαι
 ὡς τῶν τιμῶν μητέρα αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ
 ἡ πάντε εὐφροσύνη κοσμουμένη. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χάρις καὶ
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαυνοῦσθαι, ὡς μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολ-
 10 λαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, ὡς τῶν καὶ μέγιστοι, ὅτι τυχεῖται
 οὕτως θεοφιλῆς. μαρτυρῇ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὸ λόγῳ, ἡ πῶν ἀμφισ-
 βητησάντων ὡς αὐτῆς Θεῶν ἔστις τε καὶ χρίσις. ἦν γὰρ Θεὸς
 ἐπ' ἵκεσαι, πῶς οὐχ' ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων διχαία
 ἐπαυνοῦσθαι; Δεύτερον δὲ ἔπαυσις διχαίως ἀν' αὐτῆς εἶναι,
 15 ὅτι ὡς ὁ κείνῳ πρὸ χρόνῳ ὡς ὅ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνείδω καὶ ἔφυ-
 ζῶσα παρθενία, θεία τε καὶ βοτάνη, ὡς τῶν ἡμετέρων,
 θηρίων μὲν ἀγρίων ἄγνος καὶ καθαρή ἐφάμεν ἐξελέξατο γὰρ
 τῶν ζώων καὶ ἐθήνησεν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ συνέσθαι τε ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν
 ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ Θεοὺς μόνον νομίζῃ. μέγα δὲ τεκμή-
 20 ριον τῶν πρὸ λόγῳ, ὅτι ἡδὲ ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ ὅσον τῶν τε καὶ
 ἡμετέρων. ὡς τῶν πρὸς ὅσον τῶν πρὸς ὅσον τῶν πρὸς ὅσον
 τῶν πρὸς ὅσον τῶν πρὸς ὅσον τῶν πρὸς ὅσον τῶν πρὸς ὅσον
 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, εἰ μὴ ἔχη πηγὰς τρυ-
 φῆς πρὸ θροῦ. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ

**

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ.

Μυριάσσι ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
 Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

• • • • •

ὦ ξέν', ἄλγεῖλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
 Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

• • • • •

Μῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγίστα, ὅι ποτε Μῆδοι
 Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναι ἀμειψόμενοι,
 Μάντιος· ὅς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένης σάφα εἰδώς,
 Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας πωλιπέων.

• • • • •

Τῶν εἰ Θεμοπύλαις θανόντων
 Εὐκλεὺς μὲν ἂν τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ
 Πότμος, βωμὸς δ' ὁ πάθος
 Περγήωνται μῆναισι δ' οἵτις
 Ἐπαῖνος. εἰσάφισεν ἢ τοῖσιν
 Οὐτ' εὐρὸς, οὐδ' ὁ πανδαράτωρ
 Ἀμαυράσῃ χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.
 ὃ ἢ σπικὸς οἰκετῶν εὐδοξίαν·
 Ἑλλάδος εἰσαὶ μαρτυρῇ ἢ Λαονόδωτος
 Ὁ Σπάρτῃ βασιλεὺς, ἀρετῆς μέγας
 Δειλοπύς κόσμον, ἀντιόητε κλέος.

Υ Π Ο Θ Ε Σ Ι Σ
ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Θακυδ. Ξυγγρ. Β. λδ'.

ΕΝ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν χειμῶν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸ πατρῴου νόμου χρώμενοι, δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποίησαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε πρὸ πολέμου πεσόντων ἀποθανόντων, τῷδ' αὖτε τὰ μὲν ὅσα περὶ γίνονται τῶν ἀποθανομένων, περὶ ταύτης ποιήσαντες, καὶ ὑπερέχει πρὸ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἢ τι βέλκεται: ἐπειδὴν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκφορά ἦ, λάρνακας κύπελαισιν ἀγύσσον ἅμαξαι, φυλῆς ἕκαστης μίαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἡς ἕκαστος ἦ φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίνη κατὰ φέρεται ἐστραμένη πρὸς ἀφαιῶν, οἱ δὲ μὴ εὐρεῖσθαι ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. Ξυνοκφέρει 5 δὲ ὁ βυλόμηνος καὶ ἀστὴ καὶ ξένων. καὶ γυναῖκες παρέχουσιν αἱ περὶ τὸν τάφον, ὀλοφρευόμεναι. πιδέσθαι οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ὅστις ἐπὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ θεωρεῖται τῆς πόλεως. (καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτεται τὸς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε τὸς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἀφ' 15 ὧν περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναι, αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τάφον ἐποίησαν.)

Α

ἐπειδὴν

2 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ἐπειδὴν δὲ κρύψωσι γῆ, ἀνὴρ ἱρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πό-
λεως, ὅς ἀν γνῶμη τι δοκῇ μὴ ἀξιώμετος εἶναι, καὶ ἀξιά-
ματι θεωρήκη, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινοι τὸν τρέποντα.
μετὰ δὲ τῷτο ἀπέρχονται. ὧδε μὲν γὰρ ἴσιν· καὶ ἀφ' ὧ-
σιν αὐτὸς τῷ πολέμῳ, ὁπότε ξυμβαίῃ αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶτο κατὰ
νόμον. ὅτι δ' οὖν τοῖς θεωροῖς τοῖσδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξαν-
θίππυς ἤρεθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, θεωρελ-
θὼν ὑπὸ τῷ σήματος ὅτι βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένοι, ὅπως
ἀκούουσιν ὡς ὅτι πλεῖστον τῷ ὀμίλῳ, ἔλεγε τοιαῦτα.

10

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ πολλοὶ τ' ἐνθάδε ἦν εὐκλότων ἐπανῆσι τ'
θεωρεῖντα κατὰ νόμον τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς κελεῖν ὅτι τοῖς
ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐμοὶ δ'
ἀν ἀρκούν ἐὺδοκίαι εἶναι, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ θροονδύων, ἔργῳ
καὶ δηλοῦσθαι ταῖς τιμαῖς, αἷα καὶ πῦν παρὰ τ' τάφῳ τόνδε 15
δημοσίᾳ κορυφαίαθεῖντα ὁρᾶτε· καὶ μὴ εἰ ἐνὶ αἰδέῃ
πολλῶν ἀρεταῖς κινδυνεύειν, ὥστε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπὼντι πεποι-
σῆναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὅ μετέως εἰπῶν, εἰ ὅ μάλιστα καὶ ἡ
δόκησις τ' ἀληθείας βεβαιῶνται ὅ, τε γὰρ ξυμειδῶς ἐ εὐνὸς
ἀκροατῆς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδεέστερος πρὸς αὐτὴν βύβληαί τε καὶ ὅτι 20
ἐστὶ νομίσαι δηλοῦσθαι· ὅ, τε ἀπειρεῖς, ὅτι αὐτὸ καὶ πλεονά-
ζεσθαι, ἀφ' ὧν φθόνοι, εἰ τι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐαυτῶν φύσιν ἀκούει
μέγχει γὰρ τῶνδε ἀπαιτῶν (1) ἔπαινοί εἰσι παρὰ ἑτέρων λεγόν-
μενοι, ἐκ ὧν ἀν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχουσιν οἴηται ἰσχυρὸς εἶναι) ἀρᾶ-
σαί

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ. 3

θαί τι ὦν ἤκουσε· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φροσύνης, ἥδη
καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. Επειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι ἔτις ἐδοκιμάσθη
ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρηὲς ἐμὲ ἐπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ, πε-
ρᾶσθαι ἡμῖν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν
5 αἵς ὅτι πλεῖστοι.

Ἀρξομεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν περὶ τοῦ. Δίχασιν γὰρ
αὐτοῖς καὶ φέρεται δὲ ἅμα οἱ τῷ τοῦδε τῇ τιμῇ ταύτῃ
τῆς μήμης δίδου, τὴν δὲ χάρις αἰεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκῶν-
τες, ἀφ' ὧν τῶν ἐπιγνομένων μέχρι τῶδε ἐλθόντες
10 δι' ἀρετὴν πρὸςδοσαν. καὶ ἐκείνοι τοι αἱ οἱ ἐπαίνου, καὶ ἐπὶ
μᾶλλον ὅτι πατέρες ἡμῖν. κτησάμενοι δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἐδ-
ξοῦτο ὅσην ἔχοντες ἀρχὴν, ἐκ τῶν ἡμῖν τοῖς πῶν προ-
κατέλπει, τὰ δὲ πλεῖον αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμῖς οἶδε, οἱ πῶν ἐπὶ
οἷς μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἡλικίᾳ, ἐπιπύξομεν, καὶ
15 ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς πᾶσι πρὸςδοσάμεν καὶ ἐς πύλεμον καὶ ἐς
ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς. Ὡς ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν καὶ πύλεμον ἔργα,
οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτέλει, ἢ εἴτι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῖν Βάρ-
βαροι ἢ Ἕλληνα πόλεμον ὁπλόντα πορεύμενος ἡμῶν ἀμετα,
μακροφρεῖν οἱ εἰδέναι ἢ βυλόμενον, εἴσω. ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας
20 τε ὁπτιπύλεως ἡλδομεν ἐκ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ μεθ' οἷας πύλι-
τείας, καὶ πύλεμον ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ταῦτα δηλώ-
σαι περὶ τοῦ, ἡμῖν καὶ ὅτι τῶν πᾶν ἐπαίνοι, νομίζοντες ὅτι
τε ὅτι παρὲντι ὅτι αἱ ἀρετῆς λεχθῆναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅτι πάντες
ἡμῖν καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐξοφρομεν ἡμῖν αὐτῶν ἐπαίνοι.

Χρόμενα

4 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Χρόμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία ἡ ζήλοσιν οὖν τῶν πέλεις νό-
 μων, πῶς δὲ εἶμα ἡ αὐτοὶ μάλλον ὅττες τισὶν, ἢ μιμού-
 μνοι ἐτέρων. καὶ ὅτομα μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ'
 ἐς πλείους οἰκεῖν, Δημοκρατία κέκληται. μέντοι ἡ, καὶ
 μὲν τὸς νόμους, πῶς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, καὶ 5
 δὲ πῶς ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίᾳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ
 μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμάται·
 οὐδ' αὖ καὶ πείθει, ἔχον δὲ πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν δοῦναι πῶς πᾶσι,
 ἀξιώματες ἀφανεία κακώλυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς
 τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν, καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῆς 10
 κατ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύεται ἡ πόλις, οὐ δὲ ὀργῆς τὸν
 πέλας, εἰ κατ' ἡδονὴν τι δοῖν, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν,
 λυπηρὰς ἡ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ἀχρηδόναις προσιδέμενοι ἀνεπαχθῶς
 δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες, τὰ δημόσια ἀλλὰ δέουσα μά-
 λις ἡ πῶς νομίζομεν, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὅπου ἀκρόασις, 15
 καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν
 ἀδικουμένων κέιν, καὶ ὅσοι ἀγαθοὶ ὅττες αἰσχύνῃ ὁμολογῶ-
 μένῃ φέρουσι.

Καὶ μὴ καὶ τῶν πένων πλείους ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ
 ἐπορίσταμεθα, ἀλλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ θυσίαις διετησίους νομίζον- 20
 τες, ἰδίαις δὲ χαλαραῖς εὐπρεπέσι, ὧν κατ' ἡμέραν ἡ
 τέλει τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπειτέρχεται δὲ ἀλλὰ μέ-
 γαλον τῆς πόλεως ὅτι πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα καὶ ξυμ-
 βαίνῃ ἡμῶν μηδὲν οἰκειοτέρα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγα-
 θὰ

θά γηρόμῃνα χαρπῶσθαι, ἢ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἄλλων ἀνδρά-
πων.

Διαφέρει μὲν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν
ἐκδηρίων τοῖσδε. τῇ τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν πᾶσιν ἔχομεν, καὶ
5 ὅτ' ἐστὶν ὅτε ξηλασίαις ἀπείργομεν πᾶσι ἢ μαθήματος, ἢ
θεάματος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἀνὴρ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν ἀφε-
λθεῖν· πεπυόντες οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀσχευαῖς τοπλεῖον καὶ ἀπά-
ταις, ἢ ὅτ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχωι. Καὶ ἐν
ταῖς παιδείαις, ὅ μ' ὀπιπένω ἀσκήσῃ, εὐδὺς νέοι ὄντες,
10 τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται· ἡμεῖς δ', ἀπειρώμεθα ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὅσοι
ὄντες ἴσως ὅτι τὸν ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωρεῖμεν. τεκμή-
ριοι δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἑσθλῶν, μὴ πάντων
δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύσας· τῇ τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ
ἐπελθόντες, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἑλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν
15 οἰκείων ἀμυνομένων μαχόμενοι ταπείνω κρατῶμεν. ἀθρόα
τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πώ πολεμικῶν ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλλ'
τὴν ἑνὸς ναυτικοῦ τε ἅμα ὀπιμέλειαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ
πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψεν. ἢ δὲ πρὸς μορφὴν πρὸς τρο-
μίσσῃσι, κρατήσαντες τε πᾶσι ἡμῶν, πάντας αἰχμῶν ἀπεώ-
20 σθαι· καὶ νικηθέντες, ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἡσυχῶν. καίτοι εἰ βαθυ-
μῆα μάλλον ἢ πόνον μελέτη, καὶ μὴ μὲν νόμον τοπλεῖον
ἢ πρὸς ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, θεοὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν
τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγενοῖς μὴ προσκάνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλ-
θούσι, μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους ἢ αἰεὶ μοχθήσαντες φαίνεσθαι.

Καὶ

6 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Καὶ ἔτι τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι, καὶ ἔτι οὐκ ἄλλοις φιλοχελῶμεν τι γὰρ μετ' ἐπιλείας, καὶ φιλοσοφῶμεν ἀνευ μάλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον ἐν καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χράμεθα· καὶ ὁ πάντα ἔχ' ὁμολογεῖν πρὶ ἀισχυροῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀφαιρῆναι ἔργου, αἰσχίου. 5
 Ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκίᾳ ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῇ ὀκτιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμύδους, τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς γινώσκαι· μέντοι γὰρ τοῖς τε μηδ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέχοντα, ἐκ ἀπράξιμια ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κέρτομέ γε ἢ σιδηρόμεθα ὁρῶντες τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ τὴν λόγους τοῖς ἑρ- 10
 ροῖς βλάπτει ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ διδασκῆται μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρῶτον ἢ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. ἀφαιρούμεν γὰρ οὐ καὶ τὸδε ἔχομεν, ὅτι τολμᾷτε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιχειροῦμεν, ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαρτία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνος φέρει. κερτίστοι δ' αὖτε 15
 τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δευρὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέντα γινώσκοντες, καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ πᾶν κινδύνου. Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἡγουμένας τοῖς πολ-
 λαῖς· καὶ γὰρ πάχοντες εἰ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες, κτόμεθα τὴν φί-
 λους βεβαιότερος ἢ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν, ὅτι ὀφειλομένην
 δι' εὐνοίας ὅτι δέδωκε σώζειν· ὁ δ' ἀποφείλων ἀμβλύτερος,
 εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδύσσει
 καὶ μέντοι οὐ τῷ συμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ, ἢ τῇ εὐδο-
 δείας καὶ πιστῷ ἀδελφῇ τὴν ὀφειλόμεν.

Ξινοελάν

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ. 7

ἔμμελόν τι λέγω, τήν τε πᾶσαι πόλιν ἡ Ἑλλάς
 παῖδεςσι εἶ), καὶ καθ' ἕναρον δευεῖν αἱ μοι ἡ αὐτὸν αἰδρα
 πρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖς εἶδη, καὶ μὲν χαλεπὸν μάλιν' αἱ ἐν-
 τραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐτάρκεις πρῆχθαι. καὶ ὡς ἔλθων
 5 οἱ τῷ παρόντι κόμπῳ τὰδε μάλλον ἢ ἔρῳν ὅτιν ἀλήθεια,
 αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις ἡ πόλεως ἦν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκ-
 τησάμεθα, σημαίνῃ. μόνη γὰρ ἡ νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσον ἐς πεί-
 ραν ἔρχῃ. καὶ μόνη οὔτε ὅσον πολεμῶν ἐπελθόντι ἀναγκη-
 σιν ἔχῃ ὕψ' οἷον κακοπαθεῖ, οὔτε τῷ ὑπὸ κῶφ κατὰ μεμψα
 10 ὡς ἔχῃ ὑπὸ ἀξίῳ ἀρχῇ. μὲν μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ
 ἔδῃτοι ἀμάρτυρον γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν παρὰ χρόνον, τοῖς τε
 νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἐπειθε γαυματούμεθα. καὶ ὅθεν παρὰ δέομαι
 οὔτε Ομήρου ἐπαινεῖται, οὔτε ὅστις ἐπὶ μὲν παυτίχῃ τέρψῃ,
 ἢ δ' ἔρῳν ἢ ὑπονοῖαι ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάψῃ. ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι
 15 μὲν γάλασαι καὶ γλῶσσοι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ χαλνα-
 χσαντες θμέλῳ, παύχῳ ἢ μνημῆα χαλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν
 αἰδία ξυγκατακίσαντες. πρὸς τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως οἶδε
 τε θναίως, δικαίοντες μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτῇ, μαχόμενοι
 ἐπελθόντες, καὶ ἢ λειπομῶνι πόλιν τὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλει
 20 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κέμεναι.

Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμήχονα τὰ πρὸς ἡ πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν
 τε ποιήσῃ μὴ πρὸς ἴσου ἡμῶν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς
 πᾶσι μὴδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως, καὶ ἢ εὐλογίαι ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς
 νῦν λέγω φανεραὶ σημείους καλῆς. καὶ εἰρη) αὐτῆς τὰ
 μέγιστα

ΕΡΓΩ, μὴ ἡμῶν οἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ παροισκόμενα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· (ὣν τυχόντες παύονται τῇ εὐκαρίδῃ πορείᾳ, προπεμφθέντες κοπῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων) λόβῳ δὲ δὴ τοὶ λειπόρμονοι πόρρον ὃ, τι νόμος παροισκῶντι ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρητὶ ἔργον καὶ εὖ παροισκῶνται, λόγῳ χαλᾶς ῥηθέντι μήμῳ καὶ πόρμος τοῖς παρᾶξαι γίγνεται παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. δὲ δὴ τούτου πρὸς λόγου, ὅτις τὰς μὲν τέλειδότηκάς τε ἰσχυρὰς ἐπαπείσεται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς παρᾶπείσεται· ἐκρήνοις μὲν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς μιμνήσκει· καὶ πᾶσι ἀρετῇ παρακελεύμενος· πα- 10 τέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ εἰς πᾶσι τῶν ἀνῶν ἐπὶ παροισκῶν λείπονται, τῆς δὲ παραμυθούμενος. τίς οὖν ἀνὴρ ἡμῶν τοιοῦτος λόγος φασί; καὶ πόθεν αὖ ὁρῶς ἀρξαίμεθα ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαπείντες, οἱ ζῶντες τε τὰς ἑαυτῶν εὐφραιον δι' ἀρετῇ, καὶ καὶ τελευτῇ ἀντὶ τῆς ζώοντος σωτηρίας 15 ἡλλάξαντο;

Δοκῶ μοι χρῆται, καὶ φίλοι, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἡγήσονται, ἐπὶ καὶ ἐπαπείν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο καὶ τὸ φιλοῦν ἐξ ἀγαθῶν καὶ εὐφραίνειν οὖν παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκωμιάζωμεν· δούτερον δὲ, παρὰ τὴν καὶ παιδείαν· ὅτι δὲ τέτοις, τῇ 20 τῶν ἔργων παρᾶξιν ἐπιδείξωμεν, ὥς χαλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τῶν ἀπεφῆσαν.

Τῆς δ' εὐφραμίας παρὰ τοῖς ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἢ τῶν παροισκῶν ἡμέσις, οὐκ ἐπιλες οὐσα, ὅτι τὰς ἐκρήνοις τῶν ζῶντων φημι μὲν

φησὶ μὲν μεδικύνειαι σὶ τῇ χάρα, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων,
 ἄλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ πρὸ ὅτι σὶ πατρὶδι οἰκούντας καὶ
 ζῶντας· καὶ περιμενέας οὐκ ὑπὸ μητρῴας, ὡς ἄλλοι,
 ἄλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς, τῆς χάρας σὶ ἢ ὥκουι· καὶ τῇ κεί-
 5 θαι τελούτησιν· σὶ οἰκείοις τόποις δ' τεύχεος καὶ θρε-
 ψάσης καὶ ὑποδείξαμένης. Διχαίστατοι δὲ κοσμήσαι
 θεῶντι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ
 ἡ τῶνδε εὐήθεια κοσμουμένη. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χάρα καὶ
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ὃ μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολ-
 10 λαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, θεῶντι δὲ καὶ μέγιστοι, ὅτι τυχερῇ
 οὕσα θεοφιλής. μαρτυρῇ δὲ ἡμῶν πρὸ λόγῳ, ἡ τῶν ἀμφισ-
 βητησάντων περὶ αὐτῆς θεῶν ἕως τε καὶ κρίσις. ἢ δὲ θεοὶ
 ἐπίνεσαν, πῶς οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων διχαία
 ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Δεύτερον δὲ ἔπαινος διχαίως ἀν' αὐτῆς εἶη,
 15 ὅτι σὶ ἐκείνῳ πρὸ χρόνῳ σὶ ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνέδιδε καὶ ἔφου
 ζῶα πανδοδαπά, θηρία τε καὶ βοτάναι, σὶ τέττω ἡ ἡμετέρα,
 θηρίων μὲ ἀγρίων ἄγονος καὶ καθαρά ἐφάρη· ἐξελέξατο δὲ
 τῇ ζῶῃ καὶ ἐθήνησεν ἄνθρωποι, ὃ συνέσθαι τε ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν
 ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει. μέγα δὲ τεκμή-
 20 ριον τέττω πρὸ λόγῳ, ὅτι ἥδε ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ οὐδὲ τῶνδε τε καὶ
 ἡμετέρας· παρ' ἑαυτῶν· πᾶν γὰρ ὃ τέκον προφῆν' ἔχθ' ὅπι-
 τηδεῖαι ᾧ ἀν' τέκῃ. ᾧ καὶ γαλὴ δόλη τεύχεσά τε ἀληθῆς,
 καὶ μή, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχη πηγὰς τρε-
 φῆς πρὸ θρομίνῳ. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ

ἰκανὸν τεκμήριον πρὸς ὅς ἀνθρώπους γινωσκόμεθα. μὴ
 γὰρ εἰ περὶ τότε καὶ πρῶτη προφῶν ἀνθρωπείαν πνευματικὴν
 πυρρὴν καὶ κερῶν καρπὸν, ὃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα τρέφεται
 ὁ ἀνθρώπινος ἦμος, ὡς περὶ ὅτι τὸ τοῦ ζῶντος αὐτῇ γινω-
 σκόμεθα. μᾶλλον γὰρ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ γυναικὸς παρορμητικὴ δὲ καὶ
 χαοταί ποικίλα τεκμήρια. οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναικὶ μερίμνηται
 κυνῶν καὶ θηρίων, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γυν. τὴν δὲ τῶν καρπῶν
 οὐκ ἐφθόνηται, ἀλλ' ἐπειμὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ
 ἐλαίου ἥμενοι, πόνοι ἀφωγνύ, ἀπὸ τοῖς ἐκρήνοισι. θρη-
 νασμένη γὰρ καὶ αὐξήσασα πρὸς ἡβην, ἀρχομένη ἐκ διδασκα-
 λῶν αὐτῶν Θεοῦ ἐπιγὰγνῃ ὡς τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα τρέφει
 εἰ περὶ τοιαῦτα ἔστι. ἴσμεν γὰρ οἱ τὴν βίον ἡμῶν κατασκοπεύ-
 σαι, πρὸς τε πλὴν καὶ ἡμέρας διαίται τέχνας πρῶτον
 παιδολογίαι, καὶ πρὸς πλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς χάρας φυλακῶν
 ὅπλων κτησίων τε καὶ χρησίων διδασκαλῶν. ἡμῶντες δὲ καὶ 15
 παιδολογίαι ὅπως ① πᾶσι πρῶτοι, ὅπου πολιτείας
 κατασκοπεύονται, ἥς ὁρῶντες ἔχουσιν βραχείων ὁπμη-
 αθῶν. πολιτεία γὰρ, προφῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι καλὴ μὲν,
 ἀγαθὴ ἢ δὲ ἐνδρῆτα, κακῶν.

Ὡς οὖν εἰ καλῇ πολιτεία ἐπαρῆται ② πρῶτον 20
 ἡμῶν, ἀναγκαῖον διδάσκειν. δι' ἣν δὴ καὶ κείνοι ἀγαθοί, καὶ αἱ
 ἦν εἶσιν, ὡς οἶδε τυχεύουσιν ὅτις ③ τελευτηκότες. ἢ
 γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν Λεωτοχερία, εἰ καὶ
 νῦν τε πολιτοδότης, καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ χεῖρον ἔχει ὁ αἰεὶ
 ταπολαῖ.

πολλὰ καλὰ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ, Δημοκρατίας, ὁ δὲ,
 ἄλλο, ᾧ δὲ χαίρει· ἐπὶ ᾗ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλή-
 ρους Δεσποτατίας. Βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν αὐτοὶ
 δὲ, ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ γένους, ποτὲ δὲ αἵρεσίν. ἐγκρατεῖς ᾗ τῆς
 5 πύλαις πολλὰ τὸ πλῆθος· τοῖς δὲ ἀρχαῖς δίδωσι καὶ
 κρατὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ δόξασιν ἀείροις εἶν· καὶ αὐτὰ ἀσπιεία,
 αὐτὰ σφίγα, οὐτ' ἀγνωσία πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ὁδοίς,
 οὐδ' τοῖς σφόνδιους τιμήματα, ὥσπερ εἰ ἄλλαις πύλαισι
 ἀλλὰ εἰς ὅρας, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶν, κρατὶ καὶ ἀρ-
 10 χεῖ. Αἰτία ᾗ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης, ἡ ἕξ ἴσων γέ-
 νους· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πύλαις ἐκ παρόδαπται κατα-
 κυλισμέναι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ αἰσμάτων· ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀνά-
 μαλαι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, Τυραννίδες τε καὶ Ολιγαρχίαι.
 οἰκοῦσι αὖτε, ἦτοι μὲν δούλους, (Α) δὲ δεσπότας ὅλην
 15 νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς ᾗ καὶ (Β) ἡμέτεροι, μᾶς μητρὸς πάν-
 τες ἀδελφοὶ φιλῶτες, ὅσῃ ἀξιώμεθ' δούλοι ἐσθλὴν δεσπότην
 ὅλην εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἡ ἰσότης ἡμᾶς ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἰσονο-
 μίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητῆν καὶ νόμους, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπεί-
 κειν ἄλλήλοις, ἢ ἀρετῆς δόξῃ καὶ φρονήσεως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν
 20 πάσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ πεδραμμένοι (Α) πάντες πατέρες, καὶ (Β)
 ἡμέτεροι, καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοί, καὶ καλῶς φιῶτες, πολλὰ δὴ καὶ
 καλὰ ἔργα ἀπεφάνηκεν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ
 δημοσίᾳ· οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ Ἑλληνιστοῦ
 Ἑλλήνων μάχεσθαι, καὶ Βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Εὐμόλπου μὲ οὖν καὶ Ἀμαζώνων ὀπιστρατευσάντων ὅλην
 τὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ προτέρων, ὡς ἡμῶνδε, καὶ εἰς
 ἡμῶνδε Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδης πρὸς
 Ἀργείους, ὃς τε χρόνος βραχύς ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι. ποι-
 τὰί τι αὐτῶν ἤδη χαλῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ μουσικῇ ὑμνήσαν-
 τες, εἰς πᾶντα μεμνήσασιν, ἐὰν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἀποχειρώμε-
 ται αὐτὰ λόγῳ φιλῶ κοσμεῖν, τάχ' αὖ δόττερι φαίνο-
 μεθα. πάντα μὲν οὖν ἀφ' αὐτὰ δαδὲ μοι εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ
 καὶ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν. ὅν δ' αὖτε ποιητὴς πᾶς δόξαί μ' ἀξίαν
 ἐπ' ἀξίοις λάβειν ἔχει, ἐπὶ τὴν ὅτι οἱ ἀμνησά, τύπων πέρι το
 μοι δαδὲ χρῆναι ὀπιημοθῆναι, ἐπαμύντα τε καὶ ποσειδῶ-
 μένοι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐκ ὧδ' αὖτε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν αὐ-
 τὴν γῆναι, ποσειδῶντος ἢ ποσειδῶντος.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τύπων ὦν λέγω ποσειδῶν Πέρσης ἡγεμόνης ἢ
 Ἀσίας, καὶ δουλαμένους τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἔχει αὖ τῆςδε ἢ τῆς
 χώρας ἄρχοντι, ποσειδῶν ἢ ἡμέτερος ὦν ἢ δῆμιος καὶ χρὴ
 ποσειδῶν μεμνημένους, ἐπαμύναι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν. Δα-
 δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλει τις χαλῶς ἐπαμύναι, οἱ οὐκ αὖτε
 πρὸ χρόνου θυμῶντος λόγῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλασε
 πρὸς ἡδὴ βασιλεῖς. ὦν ὁ μὲν ποσειδῶν, Κύριος, ἐλευθε-
 ρότατος Πέρσης τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολίτας πρὸ αὐτοῦ ποσειδῶντος.
 ἅμα καὶ αὐτὴν Δαδῶντος Μήδοις ἐδούλασε, ἢ τῆς ἄλλης.
 Ἀσίας μέγιστος Διόδοτος ἦρξεν, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸς αὐτοῦ, Διόδοτος τε
 καὶ Διόδοτος, ὅσον ὅτι τε ἦν ἐπιβάλλειν πρὸς ἢ Δαδῶντος,
 ποσειδῶν

πρὸς τὴν μέγαν Σκυθῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὤρσατο, καὶ δὲ
 τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσέστησε καὶ πῶς ἴσως ὥστε μὴδὲ ἀ-
 ξίως ἀνίστασθαι αὐτὸς μνηστὴρ εἶναι. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες διδυλα-
 ρήσας ἀπάντων ἀνδρώπων ἦσαν. οὗτοι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
 5 καὶ μάχαιμα ἦν κατὰ διδυλαρμῶν ἢ ἢ Περσῶν ἀρχὴ. Αἰ-
 πασιμβροτὸν ἢ Δαρείος ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ερετρείας, Σάρδεσιν
 ὀπλιτοῦσιν κατασφαιζόμενον, πέμψας μερῶσας μὴ
 συντόκοντα ἔντι πλείοις καὶ ναυσί, ταῦς δὲ τεμαχοσίας,
 Δάτη δὲ ἄρχοντα, εἶπεν ἤκεν ἄρχοντα Ερετρείας καὶ Αθη-
 ποταίους, εἰ βούλοιντο ἢ αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ πλεό-
 σαις εἰς Ερετρείαν ἐπ' ἀνδρας οἱ τῷ τότε Ἑλλήνων εἰ ταῖς
 εὐδοκίμοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἔκ οὐλί-
 γου, τότες ἐχειρώσατο μὴ ἐν πρῶτῃ ἡμέρῃ. διηρμήσατο
 15 ἢ αὐτῶν πᾶσαι ἢ χώραν, ἵνα μνηστὴς Σοφοῦργοι ποῖται
 πρὸς τὸν ὅτι τὰ ὅσα ἐλδοίης ἢ Ερετρείας οἱ στρατιῶται
 αὐτῶν, ἐκ βασιλέως εἰς βασιλέα ἀφαιρῶντες, σιναφίαις
 τοῖς χεῖρας, διήλθον ἀπασαν ἢ χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τὸ βα-
 σιλεῖ εἶπεν ὅτι ὅσοις σφᾶς Σοπεφύργως εἴη. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ
 ἀφαιρῶν κατηγήγοντο ὅτι Ερετρείας εἰς Μαράθωνα, ὡς
 20 ἔτοιμοι σφίσι δὲ καὶ Αθηναίους εἰ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνέστη.
 ζήσαντας Ερετρείαν, ἀγεν. τότε δὲ, τῶν μὲν στρα-
 χιδόντων, τῶν δ' ὀπλιτοῦσιν, οὗτ' Ερετρείαν εἰσοδήθη-
 σιν Ἑλλήνων οὐδείς, οὐτε Αθηναίους, πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίαν.
 οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑσφεία τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. ① δ' ἄλλοι
 πάντες

8 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

μέγιστα. ἂν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρετῶν ἐκόςμησαν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσότηροισι, ὥσπερ τῶνδε, ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανεῖν. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὥσπερ τι μινύουσα, καὶ πελοπαία βεβαῖουσα, ἣ νῦν τῶνδε χαλκαστοφῆ καὶ γὰρ τοῖς 5 πᾶσι χεῖρες δίκαιοι τῇ ἐς τὰς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίας προσηγορίας ἀγαθῶν γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες, κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν, ἢ ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐβλάψαν. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πολούτω πῶς τιμὴ ἔτι σπουδαῖον προσηγορίας ἐμαλκίσθη, οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ 10 ἀφρογῶν αὐτὴν πλετήσκειν, ἀναβολῇ τῷ δεῖν ἔποιήσατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐργῶν πρῶτον παρὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν λαβόντες, καὶ κινδύων ἅμα τοῖςδε χάλλιστον νομίσαντες, ἠβελήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι· ἐλπίδι μὲν ὁ ἀφρογῶν τῷ χαλκαστοφῶν ἐπιτελέσαντες, ἔργω 15 τῶνδε τῶν ἡδὴ ὁρωμένων σοφίᾳ αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι· καὶ ἐν αὐτῶν δὲ ἀμυνάσθαι καὶ παθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι, ἢ πρὸς ἐκδόντες σώζεσθαι, ὅ μιν αἰσχρὸν ἔσθαι λόγος ἔφυγεν, ὅ δὲ ἔργον δὲ σώματι ὑπέμεινον, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου χειρὸς τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ δέῃ ἀπηνάλα- 20 γησαν.

Καὶ οἶδε μὲν προσηγορίας τῇ πόλει τοιοῦτῃ ἐφρόντο· τὰς δὲ λοιποὺς χρὴ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τῇ ἐς τὰς πολέμους ἀφρογῶν ἔχειν, σπουδάζοντας

πῶς μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τ' ἀφέλῃαι· ἢ ἂν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν
 χεῖρον αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς εἰδὼτας μνηκύνῃ, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τῶς
 πολεμίοις ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν. Ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς
 πόλεως δύναμιν καὶ ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωρόνους, καὶ ἐραστὰς
 5 γιγνομένους αὐτῆς. καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξα εἶναι, ἐν-
 θυμεμόνοις ὅτι πολυμῶντες, καὶ γηρώσκοις τὰ δέοντα, καὶ
 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκλήσαντο· καὶ ὅποτε
 καὶ πείρα τὴν σφαλεῖσαν, οὐκ οὐ καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τὴν σφε-
 τέρως ἀρετῆς ἀξιούντες στείλκων, κάλλιπον δὲ ἔρανοι αὐτῇ
 10 περὶέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἀγῆ-
 ρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ὀπσισημότατον, οὐκ
 οὐδ' ὅτι κέντα μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅτι ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ
 ἐντυχόντι αἰὲν καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργῳ χαριῶν ἀείματος κατα-
 λείπει. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὀπσισημόντων πᾶσα γῆ τάφῳ, καὶ ὅτι
 15 λαὸν μόνον οὐ τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ὀπσισημόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ
 μὴ περὶ σπουδῆς ἀγροφῶν μνήμη παρ' ἐκείνῳ τῆς γνώμης
 μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι ἔργου ἐνδαιτυνται. οὐδ' ἦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες,
 καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἡ ἐλδύθεον, τὸ εὐφρο-
 κρίναντες, μὴ περὶ σπουδῆς πολεμικῶς κινδύνους. καὶ γὰρ
 20 ὁ κακοπραγούνης δικαιότερον ἀφειδῶν ἐν πύρρι, οἷς
 ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστι ἀγαθὴ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐνδοκίᾳ μεταβολὴ οὐ
 τὸ ζῆν ἐτι κινδυνεύεται, καὶ οὐδ' οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ
 ἀφαιρῶντα, ἢ τι πλάσωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ γε
 φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἢ οὐ τὸ μὲν τοῦ μαλακιοῦναι κάκωσις,

10 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥόμης καὶ κοίτης ἐλπίδι· ἅμα γιγνόμεν·
ἀναιδέως θάνατι·

Διόπερ καὶ τοὺς πᾶνδε νῦν τοκίας, ὅσοι πάρετε, οὐκ
ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρεμυθήσομαι. εἰ πολυτρόποις
ᾧ ξυμποραῖς ἔκβηται) τραφέντες. τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἱ ἀνδ
τῆς ἐνπρεπείτης λείψον, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲ νῦν, πελοτῆς,
ὑμεῖς ἢ λύπης· καὶ εἰ οἷς ἐνυδαίμονῃσαι τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως
καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυμεμετρήθη. χαλεπὸν μὲ οἶν οἶδα πεί-
θειν ὅτι, ὡς καὶ πολλὰκις ἔξετε ὑπομήματα εἰ ἄλλων
εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη ἔχ
ὡς ἀν τις μὴ πειρασάμεν· ἀγαθῶν στείσκεται, ἀλλ' ἔ
ἀν ἐγὰς θνύμεν· ἀφαιρεθῆν. καρτερεῖν ἢ χρηρ εἰ ἄλλων
παίδων ἐλπίδι, οἷς ἐπὶ ἡλικία τέκνωσι ποιεῖσθαι. ἰδίᾳ τε
ᾧ ἔσθ' οὐκ ὄντων λήθῃ· ὅτι γιγνόμενοί ποτε ἔσονται· καὶ
τῇ πόλει δόξουσιν, ἔκ τε τῆ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι, καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ 15
ξυνοίσειν. καὶ ᾧ οἶόν τε ἴσόν τι ἢ δίκαιον βεβαλέσθαι οἱ ἀν
μὴ καὶ παῖδας εἰ καὶ ὅμοιαι πᾶσι βαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν.
ὅσοι δ' αὖ πῆρσῃσθε, τὸν τε πλείονα, κέρδος ὅτι, εὐτυ-
χεῖτε βίον· ἠγνεῖσθε καὶ τὸνδε βραχυὸν ἔσθαι, καὶ τῇ πᾶνδε
εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθε. ὅς ᾧ φιλόπμοι ἀγῆρων μόνον· καὶ ἔκ 20
εἰ πᾶσι ἀχρεῖω ἢ ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ πινες φασί,
μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ ὅς πᾶσθαι.

Παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι πᾶνδε πάρετε, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς, ὁρᾷ μέ-
γαν ἢ ἀγῶνα. τὸν ᾧ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἴδει ἐπαγγεῖν. καὶ
μάλας

μόλις ἀν' ἑαυτὴν ἀρετῆς ἔχ' ὅμοιοι ἀλλ' ὀλίγω
 χείρονα κριθείητε. φρόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντίπα-
 λους· ὃ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀναγκαζοίτω εὐνοία τυτμήναι.

Εἰ δέ με δὴ καὶ γυναικείας τὴν ἀρετῆς, ὅσα νῦν ἐν χρεῖα
 ἔσονται, μεταθῆναι, βραχεία παρανείσθ' ἅπαν σημαίνει. ὅ-
 τε γὰρ ὑπαρχύσης φύσεως μὴ χείρονα θμείβῃ, ὑμῶν μεγάλη
 ἡ δόξα, καὶ οἷς ἀν' ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέει ἢ λόγῳ ἐν
 τοῖς ἄρεσι κλέος ἦ.

Εἴρη) καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ καὶ τῶν νόμων ὅσα ἔχοντες περὶ σφοδρα-
 20 καὶ ἔργῳ, οἱ θαπτόμενοι, τὰ μὲν, ἥδη κεκόσμηται· τὰ δὲ,
 αὐτῶν δὲ παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τῶνδε δημοσίᾳ ἢ πόλιν μέχρις
 ἡλικίας θρέψῃ, ἀφελίμοι γέγονον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λεπομέ-
 νοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγόνων περὶβύσσει. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἷς κεῖται
 ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖσδε καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσι. οὗτοι δὲ
 ἀπολοφρεσμένοι ὅτι περὶ τῆς ἐκάστω, ἄπτε.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ,

Η,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ,

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ.

Εξ ἀγροῶς, ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; ΜΕ. Εξ ἀγροῶς,
ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτήριου. ΣΩ. Τί
μάλιστα σὺ πρὸς βουλευτήριον; ἢ δηλαδὴ ὅτι παιδευόμενος
ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐπὶ τέλει ἦγῃ (ἔϊ); καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρὸς ἤδη ἔχῃ,
ἐπὶ τοῖς μείζονας ὅπλοις τρέπεται; καὶ ἄρχει ἡμῶν, ὦ;
θαυμάσιε, ὅτι χειρεῖς τοῦ παρρησιώτερον, τηλικαῦτον ὄν,
ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἡμῶν ἡ οἰκία ἀεὶ τινα ἡμῶν ὅτι μελητικὴν
πῦρ χυμῶν; ΜΕ. Εὖν σύγῃ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἰᾶς ἐν συμ-
βουλῇ ἄρχειν, παρρησιάζομαι· εἰ ἢ μὴ, ὦ. Νυνὲς μένοι
ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον, πυθόμενοι ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ
μέλλει αἰρεῖσθαι ὅτις ἐρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανόντι. ταφὰς γὰρ
οἶδ' ὅτι μέλλουσιν ποιεῖν. ΣΩ. Πάντῃ. Ἀλλὰ τίνα εἴ-
λοντο; ΜΕ. Οὐδέναν. Ἀλλὰ ἀνεβάλλοντο εἰς τὴν αὔριον.
οἶμαι μὲντοι Ἀρχῆται ἢ Δίονα αἰρεθήσεσθαι. ΣΩ. Καὶ
μὲν, ὦ Μενέξενε, πολλαχόθεν κινδυνεύει χαλόν (ἔϊ) τὸ εἶ
πολέμων

πολέμῳ ἔπαθήσκεα· καὶ γὰρ ταφῆς χαλῆς τε καὶ μεγα-
 λοπρεπούς τυγχάνῃ· καὶ εἰάν πένθης τις ὦν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ
 ἐπείνε αὐτὸν ἔτυχεν· καὶ εἰάν φαῦλος ᾦ, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν τε
 καὶ οὐκ εὐκλῆ ἐπαινοῦνται, ἀλλὰ ὥς πολλοὺς χρεὶς λόβους
 5 παρεσκευασμένων· οἱ οὐτὰ χαλῶς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ
 προσόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ πρὸς ἐκάστω λέγοντες, κάλλιτά πως
 τοῖς ὀνόμασι ποικίλλοντες, γρηπτεύουσι ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς,
 καὶ τὴν πᾶσιν ἐγκωμιάζουσιν· καὶ πάντας πτόποις, ὥς τὸς
 τελευτηκότας ὥς τὸν πολέμῳ, καὶ τοὺς προγόνοις ἡμῶν
 10 ἄπαντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τὸς ἐπὶ ζῶ-
 ντας ἐπαινοῦντες. ὥς· ἔγωγε, ὦ Μενέξενε, θησιῶς πάλιν
 ἀφ' ἡμέτης, ἐπαινούμεν· ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκάστου ἔσχα
 ἀκροόμενος καὶ κηλούμεν, ἡρώμενος ὥς τὸν παραχρῆμα
 μέζον καὶ θησιώτερος καὶ χαλλίῳ γενεῖται. καὶ οἷα δὲ
 15 τὰ πολλὰ αἰεὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ ξένοι πινὲς ἐπίσταν καὶ ξυναιρόν-
 ται· πρὸς οὓς ἐγὼ σπινώτερον ὥς τὸν παραχρῆμα γίνο-
 μαι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κείνοι ταυτὰ ταῦτα δοκῶσιν μοι πᾶσιν
 καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πάλιν, θαυμασιωτέραν
 αὐτῇ ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ἢ πρὸς τὸν, ὡς τὸν λέγοντ·
 20 ἀναπειρόμενοι· καὶ μοι αὐτῇ ἡ σπινώτης παραμυθία ἡμέ-
 ρας πλείω ἢ πρὸς· οὕτως ἑαυτοῦς ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγος
 πρὸς τῷ λέγοντ· ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥς· μόνης τε-
 τάρτη ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναμνήσκουμαι ἐμαυτῶν, καὶ αἰ-
 διάτομαι εὖ γῆς ἐμὴ· τέως δὲ οἶμαι μοιαιόμην ὥς μαχάραν
 ἦσσις

14 ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

ἡσίοις οἰκεῖν. αὐτως ἡμῖν αἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοὶ εἰσὶ. ΜΕ. Αὖ
 σὺ τρασαΐζεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς ῥήτορας· νῦν μέντοι
 οἶμαι ἐκὰς τὸν αἰρέντα ἢ πάντῃ εὐπορήσας· ἔξ ὑπογῆς
 γὰρ παντράπασιν ἡ αἴρεσις γήσκει· ὥς ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται
 ἢ λέγειν ὥσπερ αὐτοχρδιάζειν. ΣΩ. Πόθεν, ὦ γαῖε; εἰσὶν
 ἐκάστοις τέτων λόγοι παρεσκευασμένοι· καὶ ἅμα ὅθεν αὐτο-
 χρδιάζειν τά γε τοιαῦτα χαλεπὸν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύο Ἀθηναῖος
 ὁ Πελοπονησίους εὖ λέγειν, ἢ Πελοπονησίους ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
 ἀγαθοῦ ἀνὴρ ῥήτορ· δύο τοῦ πείσοντος καὶ εὐδοκμήσοντος
 ὅταν δέ τις ἐν τέτοις ἀγωνίζηται ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ, ὅθεν
 μέγα δοκεῖ εὖ λέγειν. ΜΕ. Οὐκ οἶδ', ὦ Σώκρατες; ΣΩ.
 Οὐ μέντοι, μὰ Δία. ΜΕ. Ἡ οἷε οἷός τ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι αὐτὸς
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δύο, καὶ ἔλοιτό σε ἡ βουλή; ΣΩ. Καὶ ἐμοὶ
 μέν γε, ὦ Μενέξετε, ὅθεν θαυμαστὸν, οἷωτ' εἶναι εἰπεῖν, ὅ
 τυγχάνη διδάσκαλος οὔσα οὐ πάντῃ φαύλη πρὸς ῥητορικῆς, 15
 ἀλλ' ἥπερ καὶ ἄλλες πολλὰς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε ῥήτορας,
 ἕνα δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἐφ' ἧς πάντων Ἑλλήνων, Περικλέα τὸν Ζαν-
 γίππου. ΜΕ. Τίς αὕτη; ἢ δηλονότι Ἀσπασίαν λέγεις;
 ΣΩ. Λέγω γάρ· καὶ Κόννον γε τὸν Μητροβίον. ὅτοι γάρ
 μοι δύο εἰσὶ διδάσκαλοι· ὁ μὲν μουσικῆς· ἡ δὲ ῥητορικῆς. 20
 οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πεφύμενοι ἄνδρα ὅθεν θαυμαστὸν διειδὼν εἶναι
 λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοὶ κάκιστον ἐπιδιδύσκει, μουσικῶ
 μὲν ὑπὸ Λάμπρον παιδιδύει, ῥητορικῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντι-
 φωνίῳ· τῶν Ράμνεσιν, ὅμως καὶ ὅτος οἷός τ' εἶναι Ἀθηναῖος

γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαυῶν εὐδοκμεῖν. ΜΕ. Καὶ τί αὖ ἔχουσιν
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δοῖσι σε λέγειν; ΣΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν πατρὶς ἐμαντοδ
 ἴσως οὐδέν. Λαλασίαι, δὲ καὶ χθὲς ἠεροώμην, περιγύσης
 ὀπιτάφιοι λόγον περ αὐτῆς τάπην. ἤκουσε γὰρ ἄπερ σὺ
 5 λέξεις, ὅτι μέλλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι αἰρεῖσθαι τὸ ἐρῶντα. ἔπειτα τὰ
 μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ᾠδῆς χρῆμα μοι διή, οἷα δοῖσι λέγειν, τὰ δὲ,
 περύτερον ἐσκεμμένη ὅτε, μοι δοκῇ, σωστήῃ τὸν ὀπι-
 τάφιον λόγον ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε, περιλείμματ' ἄλλα ἔξ
 ἐκείνης συλλογῶσα. ΜΕ. Ἡ καὶ μεμνημένους αὖ ἀέλει-
 10 γει Λαλασία; ΣΩ. Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε. ἐμάνθανόν γε τοὶ
 πατρὶς αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ λίγαι πληαὶ ἔλαβον ὅτι ἐπελαινόμενον.
 ΜΕ. Τί θι ἐ διήλθες; ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ μοι χαλεπαῖ
 ἡ διδάσκαλος, αὖ ἐξεύγω αὐτῆς τὸν λόγον. ΜΕ. Μη-
 δαμῶς, ὦ Σάκερις. Ἄλλ' εἰπέ, καὶ πάντι μοι χαρεῖν, εἴτε
 15 Λαλασίας βουλή λέγειν, εἴτε ὅτι οὐκ. ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπέ.
 ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ἴσως μοι καταγέλῳ, αὖ σοι δόξω, περιβύ-
 τῃς ὅτι, ἐπὶ παῖζειν. ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ Σάκερις. Ἄλλ'
 εἰπέ παντὶ τῷ ὄπῳ. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι σοὶ γε δὴ χαρί-
 ζεσθαι ὥστε καὶ οἱ λίγαι, εἴ με κελύοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχή-
 20 σαί, χαρισαίμην αὖ, ἐπειδὴ γε μόνον ἐσμέν. Ἄλλ' ἄγε.
 ἔλεγε γὰρ ὡς ἐγώ μιν, ἀρξάμεν λέγειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῶν
 πενηνῶν, ὅπως.

ΕΡΓΩ, μὲν ἡμῶν εἰδ' ἔχουσι τὰ παροήκουσα σφίσσι
αὐτοῖς· (ἐν τυχόντες πορεύονται τῇ εὐκαρινδῇ πορείᾳ,
προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ
τῶν οἰκείων) λόβῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν λειπρόμην πόσην ὃ, πῶς νόμος
προσάγει δὲ ποδουῶν τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρή· ἔργον γὰρ οὗτο
προαχθέντων, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μήμητι καὶ πόμος τοῖς
προάξασι γίγνεται πρὸς τῇ ἀκουσάντων. διὰ δὲ τούτων
πρὸς λόγου, ὅτις τὸς μὲν τέλει τελευτῶντες ἰσχυρῶς ἐπαπέσ-
ται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς πρὸς αὐτοῖς· ἐκρήνους μὲν καὶ
ἀδελφοῖς μιμνήσκῃ καὶ πᾶσι ἀρετῇ παρακελευόμενος· πα-
τέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ εἰπὶς τῶν ἀνωγνῶν ἐπὶ παροήκων
λείπονται, τέττες δὲ παραμυθούμενος. τίς οὖν ἀνὴρ ἡμῶν
τοῖς λόγους φαίνεται; καὶ πόθεν ἀνὴρ ὁρῶς ἀρξαίμεθα ἀν-
δρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαυῶντες, οἱ ζῶντες τε τὸς ἑαυτῶν εὐφραι-
νοι δι' ἀρετῇ, καὶ καὶ τελευτῇ ἀντὶ τῆς ζώοντος σωτηρίας
ἡλλάξαντο;

Δοκῶ μοι χρῆναι, καὶ φέρον, ὡς περ ἀγαθοὶ ἐχρῶντο, ἔπει-
κα καὶ ἐπαυῶν αὐτούς· ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φιλοῦν ἐξ
ἀγαθῶν καὶ εὐφραίνειν οὕτως ὡς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκωμιάζωμεν·
ἰδούτερον γὰρ προσήκει καὶ παιδεῖαν ὅτι δὲ τέτοις, τῇ
ἐργῶν προαχθέντων ὁποδίδωμεν, ὡς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τέτην
ἀπεφάναντο.

Τῆς δ' εὐφρασίας ὡς τοῖς ὑπὸν ἔξει τοῖς δὲ ἡμῶν προαχθέντων
ἡμέσις, οὐκ ἐπιλεῖς οὕσα, ὅτι τὸς ἐκρήνους τέττες δὲ
φημι μὲν

φησὶ αὐτὴ μετοικῆσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκούσας,
 ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ πρὸ ὅτι εἰς πατρῷδι οἰκοῦντας καὶ
 ζῶντας· καὶ πεφοιμένους οὐκ ὑπὸ μητρύας, ὡς ἄλλοι,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς, τῆς χώρας εἰς ἣν ὤκουσι· καὶ πῦν κεί-
 5 ναι τελειωθῆσθαι, εἰς οἰκείους τόπους ὃ τεύχεος καὶ θρη-
 νάσης καὶ ὑποδείξαμένης. Διχαϊότατοι δὲ κοσμησά-
 μενοι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ
 ἡ πόσις εὐθύνει κοσμουμένη. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χώρα καὶ
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ὃ μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολ-
 10 λαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μετῶν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον, ὅτι τυχερῇ
 οὕσα θεοφιλής. μαρτυρεῖ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὸ λόγῳ, ἡ τῶν ἀμφο-
 βητησάντων πρὸς αὐτῆς θεῶν ἕως τε καὶ κρίσις· ἢ γὰρ θεοὶ
 ἐπίνεσαν, πῶς οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων διχαία
 ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Δεύτερον δὲ ἔπαινος διχαίως ἀν' αὐτῆς εἶη,
 15 ὅτι εἰς οὐκ ἐκείνῳ πρὸ χρόνῳ εἰς ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδετο καὶ ἔφου-
 ζετο πανδοαπαί, θηρία τε καὶ βοτάναι, εἰς τὰ τέττα ἡ ἡμετέρα,
 θηρίων μὲν ἀγρίων ἀγροῦ καὶ κεραιῶν ἐφοδῆ· ἐξελέξατο γὰρ
 τῇ ζῶσιν καὶ ἐθήνησεν ἀνθρώποι, ὃ συνέσει τε ὑπερέχει τῇ
 ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει. μέγα δὲ τεκμή-
 20 ριον τὰ τέττα πρὸ λόγῳ, ὅτι ἥδε ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ οὗτον τῶνδε τε καὶ
 ἡμετέρας περὶ θνήσκουσας· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι τῶνδε τε καὶ
 ἡμετέρων ἀνθρώπων. ὅτι καὶ γὰρ δὴν τελευτᾶς τε ἀληθῶς,
 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, εἰς μὴ ἔχει πηγὰς τερ-
 ρῆς πρὸ θνήσκουσας. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ
 C ἰχνηνόν

ἰκανὴν τεκμήριον πρὸς τὸ ὅτι ἀνθρώπους γινώσκουσιν. μήτι
 γὰρ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τρεῖς περὶ ἀνθρωπείας ψυχὰς ἔ-
 σονται καὶ κελῶν καρπὸν, ὥς κἀλλυτὰ καὶ ἄλυστα τρέφονται
 οἱ ἀνθρώποι θῆρος, ὥς παρ' ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν γινώ-
 σκονται. μᾶλλον γὰρ ὡς ἡ γυναικὶς παρὰ τὴν δέ-
 χουσαν ποιεῖται τεκμήρια. οὐ γὰρ ἡ γυναικὶς μεμνημένη
 κυνῶν καὶ θηρῶν, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γυν. τὴν δὲ τῶν καρπῶν
 οὐκ ἐφθόσκει, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τὴν
 ἐλαίου θῆραν, πόνων ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνης. θρε-
 ψαμένη γὰρ καὶ αὐξήσασα τρεῖς ἔβλεν, ἀρχομένη ἐκ διδασκ-
 αλῶν αὐτῶν Θεοῦ ἐπιγὰρ. ὡς τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα τρεῖς
 εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι. ἴσμεν γὰρ οἱ τὴν βίον ἡμῶν κατασκοπέ-
 σαι, τρεῖς τε πλὴν καὶ ἡμέραν διαίταν τέχνας τρεῖς
 παιδολογίαν, καὶ τρεῖς πλὴν ὑπὲρ τὴν χώραν φυλακὴν
 ὅπλων κτησίν τε καὶ χρησὶν διδασκάλους. μνησθέντες δὲ καὶ 15
 παιδολογίαν ἔχουσιν. ὅτι καὶ τρεῖς, ὥς οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ
 κατασκοπεύουσιν, ὥς ὁρῶντες ἔχουσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ὅτι μνη-
 σθέντες. πολίτεια γὰρ, τρεῖς ἀνθρώπων ὅτι. καὶ μὲν
 ἀγαθῶν. ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη, κακῶν.

ὡς οὖν ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν. ὅτι τρεῖς
 ἡμῶν, ἀναγκαῖον δηλοῦν. δι' ἣν δὲ καὶ κείνη ἀγαθῶν, καὶ οἱ
 ἦν εἰσιν, ὡς οἱ οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ. ὅτι τρεῖς, ὡς οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ. ὅτι
 γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, οἱ ἦν.
 καὶ τε πολιτεία, καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χρεῖται ἐκ ἐκείνου ὡς.
 ταπολά.

πολλὰ καλὰ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ, Δημοκρατίας, ὁ δὲ,
 ἄλλο, ὃ αὖ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλή-
 ρους Δεσποτατίας. Βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ αἰὶ ἡμῖν εἰσὶν οὗτοι
 δὲ, τότε μὲν ἐκ γένους, τότε δὲ αἵρεσι. ἐγκρατὲς τῇ τῆς
 5 πύλεις πολλὰ τὸ πληθύνει· τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαῖς δίδωσι καὶ
 κρατύνει τοῖς αἰὶ δόξασιν αἰετοῖς εἶναι καὶ οὐτε ἀσθενεία,
 οὔτε φρίκα, οὔτ' ἀγνωσία πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ὁδοίς,
 οὐδ' τοῖς σπυρίοις τετίμηται, ὅσπερ εἰ ἄλλαις πύλαισι
 ἀλλὰ εἰς ὅρας, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, κρατὶ καὶ ἀρ-
 10 χῇ. Αἰτία τῇ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης, ἡ ἐξ ἴσου γέ-
 νους· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πύλαις ἐκ πρυμναπῶν κατα-
 κυνασμέναι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνομήλων· ὅτε αὐτῶν ἀνό-
 μαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, Τυρανίδες τε καὶ Ολιγαρχίαι
 οἰκοῦσιν αὖτε, οἱ μὲν δούλους, (Α) δὲ δεσπότας ἑλλήλους
 15 νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς τῇ καὶ (Α) ἡμέτεροι, μᾶς μητρὸς πάν-
 τες ἀδελφοὶ φιλῶτες, ὅσπερ ἀξιώμεθ' ἀδελφὸν ὅσον δεσπότην
 ἑλλήλον εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἡ ἰσότης ἡμᾶς ἡ κρατὺ φύσιν ἰσονο-
 μίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητεῖν καὶ νόμοι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλω ὑπέ-
 κειν ἑλλήλοις, ἢ ἀρετῆς δόξῃ καὶ φρονήσεως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν
 20 πάσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ τετραμμένοι (Α) πᾶσι πατέρες, καὶ (Α)
 ἡμέτεροι, καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοί, καὶ καλῶς φιῶτες, πολλὰ δὴ καὶ
 καλὰ ἔργα ἀπεφάναντο εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ
 δημοσίᾳ· οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἑλληνικῆς ὑπὲρ
 ἑλλήνων μάχεσθαι, καὶ Βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν ἑλλήνων.

Εὐμόλπῃ

Εὐμάλπου μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀμαζώνων ὅτι στρατεύσαντες ὅλην
 πλὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ προτέρῳ, ὡς ἡμῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς
 Ἀργείους, ὃς τε χρόνος βραχύς ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι, ποιη-
 τὰς τε αὐτῶν ἡδὲ χαλῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔπει-
 σεν, εἰς πάντα μεμνῆσθαι, ἐὰν οὖν ἡμεῖς ὅτι χειρότερον
 τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ φιλῶ κοσμεῖν, τάχ' ἂν δούτεσι φανεί-
 μεθα. πάντα μὲν οὖν ἄρα πάντα δοκῶμαι εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ
 καὶ ἔχῃ τὴν ἀξίαν. ὅτι δὲ οὕτως ποιητὴς καὶ δόξαν ἀξίαν
 ἐπ' ἀξίοις λάβει ἔχῃ, ἐπὶ τῇ ὅτι ἀμνηστία, τῶν περὶ
 μοι δοκῶ χρίσθαι ὅτι ἀμνηστία, ἐπαμνηστία τε καὶ ὁρμη-
 μῆνοι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐς ὧδὲς τε καὶ πλὴν ἄλλῃ σφίσσιν αὐ-
 τὴν γῆν, ὁρμημῆνοι τὴν ὁρμημῆν.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ ὧν λέγω προτέρῳ Πέρους ἡγεμόνας τὴν
 Ἀσίαν, καὶ δουλοῦμένους τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἔχοντες ὅλην τὴν Ἰ-
 χνάδα ἡγεμόνας, καὶ ἡμέτεροι οὖν ἐδύνασθαι καὶ χρό-
 νῳ προτέρῳ μεμνημένους, ἐπαμνηστία αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν. Δὲ
 δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλει τις χαλῶς ἐπαμῆναι, οὐδὲν
 πρὸ χρόνου ἀνέμεινον λόγῳ, ὅτι πάντα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλευε
 τῷ τῷ ἡδὲ βασιλεῖ. ὅτι ὁ μὲν προτέρῳ, Κύρος, ἐλευθε-
 ρώσας Πέρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολέτας πρὸ αὐτοῦ φρονήματα
 ἅμα καὶ αὐτὴν δεσπόσας Μήδους ἐδούλευσας, ἐκ τῆς Ἀλίας.
 Ἀσίαν μέγας Αἰγύπτου ἡγεμόνι, ὃς δὲ ἡδὲ αὐτὴν Αἰγύπτου τε
 καὶ Λιβύης, ὅσον εἴη τε ἡν ἡγεμόνι πρὸς τὴν Δαρείου,
 περὶ

πρὶν μὲν ἄνθρωποι τῇ ἀρχῇ ὀρέσασθαι, καὶ δὲ
 τῆς τε θαλάττης ἐρετρεῖσαι καὶ τῶν ἡσίων ὥστε μὴ ἀ-
 ξίους ἀνίστασθαι ἀπὸ μνηστῆρας. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες διδουλα-
 ρήσαντες ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν. οὗτοι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
 5 ἔχοντο μάχματα. ἦν καὶ καταδιδουλωμένη ἡ ἡ Περγαίων ἀρχὴ. Αἰ-
 πασιμόδῳ δὲ Δαρειῶς ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ερετρείας, Σάρδεσιν
 ὀπιδουλεύουσι περσασιζόμενοι, πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν
 πωτήκοντα ἔντι πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ, ταῦς δὲ τετρακοσίας,
 Δάτη δὲ ἄρχοντα, εἶπει ἤκειν ἀγροῦ Ερετρείας καὶ Αθη-
 ναίων, εἰ βούλοιντο ἢ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ πλεῖ-
 στας εἰς Ερετρεῖαν ἐπ' ἀνδρας δὲ τῷ τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς
 αἰσχυροτάτοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐκ ὀλί-
 γων, τύτους ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν περσῇ ἡμέραις. διηρμήσατο
 15 δὲ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μνηστῆρας Σποπύριοι τοῖς τῶν
 περσῶν ὅτι τὰ ὅλα ἐλθόντες Ερετρεῖας οἱ στρατιῶται
 αὐτοῦ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀφιστάμενοι, σιναίφοντες
 ταῖς χεῖρας, διήλθον ἀπασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν πρὸ βα-
 σιλέως εἶπεν ὅτι ὅσοις σφᾶς Σποπιφύλιως εἶναι. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ
 ἀφιστάμενοι κατηγόροντο ἐξ Ερετρείας εἰς Μαργαῖνα, ὡς
 20 ἑτοιμοὶ σφίσιν ὅτι καὶ Αθηναῖοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνέβη.
 ζήσαντας Ερετρεῖαν, ἄγειν. τῶν δὲ, τῶν μὲν περ-
 χόμενων, ταῦς δ' ὀπιδουλεύων, οὗτ' Ερετρεῖαν ἐβόηθη-
 σιν Ἑλλήνων αὐτοῖς, αὐτὲ Αθηναίοις, πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίων.
 οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑσφραῖα τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. ὁ δ' ἄλλοι
 πάντες

πάντες ἄκκοπλοι γυμνοί, ἀγαπῶντες τὴν εἰς τὴν πύργον
 σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἦσαν. Εἰς τὴν δὲ αἰτία γινόμενον
 γοῇ οἱ αἶσα ἐτύγχευον ὅτις τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ Μαραθῶνι
 δεξιόμοροι τὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων δυνάμει, καὶ κολασιόμοροι
 ἢ ὑπερηφάνειαν ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὡς οἱ γήσοφες
 πρόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων ἡγέμονες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλ-
 λοις θυμόμοροι ὅτι ἕκαστος εἴη ἡ Περσῶν δύναμις, ἀλλὰ
 πάντες πλήθος καὶ πᾶς πλὴν ἀρετῇ ὑπείκετο. Ἐγὼ μὲν
 οὖν ἐκείνοις τῆς ἀνδρείας φημι οὐ μόνον τῶν σωματικῶν τῶν
 ἡμετέρων πατέρων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε
 ἡμετέρας καὶ ξυμπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡπείρῳ. εἰς ἑκά-
 ῃστο γὰρ ὁ ἔργον ἀποβλέψαντες, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ μάχας
 ἐτόλμησαν ἀφαιρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας,
 μαθηταὶ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι θυμόμοροι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρετῶνα
 τῷ λόγῳ ἐκείνοις ἀναγετέον· τὰ δὲ δουτεῖα, τοῖς περὶ
 Σαλαμίνα καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχήσασιν καὶ νικήσασιν. καὶ
 γὰρ τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ μὲν αἰτίας ἔχει διελθεῖν, καὶ
 οἷα ὁπλόντα ὑπέμειναν κατὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ χεῖρ θάλατταν, καὶ
 ὡς ἡμύναντο ταῦτά. ὁ δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκείνων κάλλιστον
 εἶναι, τὴν μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ὅτι ὁ ἐξῆς ἔργον τοῖς Μαραθῶνι
 διεπράξατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι τοσούτον μόνον ἐπε-
 δείξαντο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι καὶ γλῶσσαν τε ἀμύναντες τοὺς
 Βαρβάρους, ὀλίγους πολλούς· ναοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ. καὶ
 δεξάν εἶχον Πέρσαι ἄμαχοι εἶναι καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ πλῆθος
 καὶ

καὶ πλῆθος, καὶ τέχνη καὶ ῥόμη. τὺτο δ' ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τῶν
 αἰσίων ἔχοντες τότε ναυμαχοῦντων, ὅτι τὸν ἐχθρόν τοι φόβον
 διέλυσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἔπαυσαι φοβεμένους πληθύνειν
 τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρω δ' ἑυμβαίνῃ, τῶν τε
 5 Μακεδῶνι μαχουμένων καὶ τῷ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχοῦν-
 τιν, παιδολύττωι τὴν ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνας, Ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν, καὶ
 γὰρ, Ὑπὸ δ' ἄλλοις, καὶ θάλατταν, μαλόντι καὶ ἐναστέ-
 ντας μὴ φοβέσθαι τὴν Βαρβάρην. Τρίτοι δὲ λέγω ὅτι
 Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον καὶ ἀειμῶν καὶ ἀρετῇ θμεῖς ἡ Ἑλληναῖς
 10 σωτηρίας κοινῇ ἔδωκεν τὺτο Λακεδαιμονίῳ τε καὶ Ἀθηναίῳ.
 τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον οὗτοι πάντες ἤμηναι,
 καὶ ἀφ' ἐκείνου ἡ ἀρετὴ ἦν τε ὑπὸ ἡμῶν ἐγκωμιάζονται,
 καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑπείθε χρόνον Ὑπὸ τῷ ὕμνῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ, πολλὰ μὲν πέλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ
 15 ἦσαν μὲν ὅτι Βαρβάρη, αὐτὸς δὲ ἡγήλατο Βασιλεὺς ἀφ-
 κοῦς ὡς ἐπιτιμήσας πάλιν ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλήνας. Δίκαιοι
 δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες, οἱ τοῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
 ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέθεσαν, ἀνακαθημένους καὶ
 ἐξελάσαντες πᾶσι ὅτι Βαρβάρη ὡς τῆς θαλάττης. ἦσαν δ'
 20 αὐτοὶ οἱ τε ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ναυμαχούμεντες, καὶ οἱ εἰς Κύ-
 προν φρατύνοντες, καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύοντες, ἐ-
 ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ὅτι ἡμῶν, καὶ χάρις αὐτοῖς
 εἰδέναι ὅτι Βασιλεὺς ἐποίησαν δέσποντα, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σωτη-
 ρείᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσέχων, ἅλλα μὴ τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-
 βουλῇ

βουλόμεν φθορᾶ. καὶ ὕτος μὲν δὴ πάση τῇ πόλει διηπλίσθη
ὁ πόλεμος, ὑπὸρ' ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ὁμοφύσῃ, πρὸς
τὴν Βαρβαρίαν.

Εἰρήνης δὲ θροονόμος, καὶ τῆς πόλεως τιμωρόν, ἤλ-
θει ἐκ' αὐτῆν, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ ἅκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ πράτ- 5
τουσι παρασπῆναι, πρῶτοι μὲν ζῆλος, ἄπὸ ζήλου δὲ,
φθόνος. ὃ καὶ τῶνδε τῇ πόλει ἀκυσθὲν ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς
Ἕλλησι κατέστησε. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο θροονόμου πολέμου,
συνέβαλον μὲν ἐν Τροάδῃ, ὑπὸρ' ἡ Βοιωτῶν ἐλδοθείας 10
Λακεδαιμονίοις μαχόμενοι· ἀμφισβητήσιμον δὲ ἡ μάχης
θροονόμος, διέκρινε τὸ ὕστερον ἔργον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄχλον ἀπόν-
τες, καταλιπόντες Βοιωτὴς οἷς ἐβόησαν· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν Οἰοφύτοις νικήσαντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως φέ-
ροντας δικαίως κατήγαγον. αὐτοὶ δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν ἡ Περ- 15
σικὸν πόλεμον, Ἕλλησιν ἤδη ὑπὸρ' ἡ ἐλδοθείας βοηθῶν-
τες πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ θροονόμοι, καὶ ἐλευθε-
ρόσκητες οἷς ἐβόησαν, ἐν τῶνδε τῷ μῆματι τιμωθέντες
ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτοι ἐπέστησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,
πολλοὶ πολέμου θροονόμου, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-
στρατεύσαντων, καὶ τιμωμένων τῇ χώραν, καὶ ἀναξίαν χάριν 20
ἐκπύοντων τῇ πόλει, νικήσαντες αὐτὴν ναυμαχίᾳ οἱ ἡμέ-
τεροι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτῇ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Λακεδαιμονίους
ἐν τῇ Σφαγίᾳ, ἔξον αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρῶναι, ἐφείσαντο, καὶ
ἀπέδσαν, καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἐπαύσαντο· ἡγεμόνοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ
ὁμόφυλοι

ἑμὲ φρονεῖν λέγει· ἡ γὰρ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν πολέμῳ, καὶ μὴ δι' ὀργῶν ἰδίαν
 πῶς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαλλαχῶς πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
 Βαρβάρους, μέχρι διαφθορᾶς. Τύττος δὲ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖσαι
 τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅτι τῷ τῷ πῶς πολέμῳ πολέμησαντες, οὐ γὰρ
 5 κῆνται, ὅτι ἐπέδωξαν, εἴ τις ἄρα ἡμφοισθήτη, ὡς οἱ τῷ
 πρῶτον πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἄλλοι τινὲς
 εἶεν ἀμείνους Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀμφοισθητοῖεν. ἔτι
 γὰρ ἐπαῖνον ἔδωκεν, στασιαστικῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, διεξιγν-
 ούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων χει-
 ρορυστῶν, μεθ' ὧν τότε τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἐνίκησεν κοινῇ, τού-
 τος κῶντες ἰδίαν.

Τεῖτα (C) ὁ πολέμος μὲν παύσῃ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἀνέλπι-
 στος τε καὶ θεὸς ἐρμῆς οὐ μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πελοπόν-
 νησις, οὐ γὰρ κῆνται πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν πλεῖ-
 15 στα τῶν παλαιῶν γῆραις, ὡς τῆς Λεοντίων ἐλευθερίας, οἷς
 βασιλεύουσιν ἀφ' οὗ τοῦ ὅρκου, ἐπλεόσθην εἰς ὁράντας τοὺς τό-
 πους (ἀφ' οὗ δὲ μῆκος τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἀπείραν τῆς πόλεως
 καὶ στασιαστικῆς, καὶ ὅτι δυναμὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετοῖ, τῷ ἀπαι-
 20 πόντῳ ἐδυσχερῆσται· ὡς (C) ἔχθροι καὶ πρῶτοι πολέμου
 πολλοὶ ἐπαινοὶ ἔχουσιν σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἢ τῶν ἄλ-
 λων οἱ φίλοι). πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς κατὰ
 Ἑλλήσποντον, μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμέραν πᾶσας τοὺς τῶν πολέμων
 ἰσχυρῶς πῶς, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας νικησάντες. ὅς δ' εἶπον
 διὰ καὶ ἀνέλπιστα τὸν πολέμον γινέσθαι, πᾶσι λαῶσι, ὅ

αἱ τοῦτοι φιλοκίαις ἐλθὼν παρὲς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἑλ-
 λης Ελλήνας, ὅτε ταλμῆσαι τὸ ἐχθρὸν ὑπεκρινάσασθαι
 βασιλεῖ, ἐν κοινῇ ἐξέβαλον μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἰδίᾳ τῶτοι πάλιν
 ἐπάγασθαι, Βάρβαρον ἐφ' Ελλήνας, καὶ συνεδρεῖσθαι ὅτι
 τῶ πόλιν πάντες Ελληνάες τε καὶ Βαρβάρους, οὗ δὲ καὶ
 ἐμφανὲς ἐγένετο ἡ τὴ πόλεως ῥώμη τε καὶ ἀρετὴ, εὐαμένῃ
 γὰρ ἡδὲ αὐτὴν καθεπεπολεμηῖα, καὶ ἀπελημμένῃ, οὗ
 Παιτιλῆν τῶν νεῶν, βοηθῶσάντες ἐξήκοντα κακοῖς, αὐτοὶ
 ἐμβάντες εἰς πᾶσι ταῖς, καὶ ἄλλους θρόνοις ἐμολογημέ-
 νους ἀρετῇ, πικρῶσαις μὲν τῆς πολέμου, λυστάδων δὲ το
 τῆς φίλους, ἀναξίου τύχης τυγχόντες, οὗ ἀκαμάρντες
 οὐκ τῆς θαλάττης, κοῖλαι οὐράδε. οὗ γὰρ αἰεὶ μακροτά-
 τε καὶ ἐπανεῖν τῇ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀρετῇ οὐκ ἐπιστάται οὐ
 μῖτοι τὴν τότε ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολέμους
 εἶδαν γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς ἡ πόλις ἔχει, μέγιστος δὲ καθεπολεμη-
 ῖα μῖτος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀλλοῖς εἶδεν τῇ
 ὅ ἡμετέροις αὐτῇ ἀφ' αὐτῆς ἀκαμάρνται, οὐκ ὑπὸ τῇ
 ἄλλῃ. ἀκρίτοι γὰρ ἔτι καὶ κοῖν ὑπὸ γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐπὶ
 ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡσυχίας θροῦντες, καὶ εὐρύς παρὲς το
 τῆς ἄλλας, ὁ οὐκ εἰς ἡμῖν πόλεμος, οὐκ εἰς ἐπὶ ἡμῖν
 ὅτε ἐπὶ εὐμαρδῶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπων σφαγῆσαι, μὴ δὲ ἄλ-
 λως εὐξασθαι μετὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τοὺς κοῖνους. οὐ τε γὰρ ὅ
 Πειρατίας καὶ τῇ Ἀσπας οὐκ ἀσφαλείας καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἡμῖν
 οὐκ εἰς

συνέμελλαν αἱ πολῖται, καὶ πρὶ ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλή-
 λαισι, τότε παρὰ τοὺς οὐ ἑλευσῆσι πόλεμοι ὡς μετέωρος
 ἔδεικτο. καὶ τούτοις ἀπάντησι θεοὶ ἄλλ' αἴτισι, ἢ τῷ ὅτι
 ἐργαῖα, φιλίας βέβαιον καὶ ὁμόφυλοι οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ
 εἰσπρηχόμενοι. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῷ οὐ τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τε-
 λεωποιήσαντο ἑσθ' ἀνέλεστοι μυσταί ἔχουσιν, καὶ ἀφελασίαν
 αὐτοῖς αἰ δυνάμει, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις ἐν τοῖςδε τοῖς
 κρατέουσιν αὐτοῖς εὐχόμενες, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς διαπλάγμεθα·
 εἴ γὰρ κακὰ ἑλλήλων ἦσαν, εἴδ' ἔχθρα, ἀλλὰ δυστυχία·
 εἰ μάλιστα δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐσμεν τούτοις, αἱ ζῶντες. αἱ αὐ-
 τοὶ γὰρ ὅπως ἐκείνοις ἦν, συγγνώμην ἑλλήλοις ἔχουσι ὅτι
 τ' ἐποπτεύεται, ὅτι τ' ἐπείθεται.

Μετά δὲ τούτῳ πανταχῶς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν γινομένης, ἥτοι-
 χεαν ἦεν ἡ πόλις, τοῖς μὲν Βαρβάρῳ συγγνώσκουσα, ὅτι
 εἰς παθόντες ἑσθ' αὐτῆς κακῶς ἰκανῶς, οὐκ ἐνδεῶς ἡμῖν ὄν-
 τοις δὲ Ἑλλήσιν ἀγανακτοῦσα, μεμνημένη ὡς εἰ παθόντες
 ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὅταν χρεὼν ἀπέδουσι, κοπασάμενοι τοῖς Βαρ-
 βάρῳ, τοῖς τε καὶς παροτρυνόμενοι, αἱ ποτ' ἐκείνους ἔσωσαν,
 καὶ τέχνη καὶ θάλασσα, ἀντ' ὅτι ἡμεῖς ταπεινὸν ἐπαλίσσαμεν
 αὐτοῖς. Διαπονήθη δὲ ἡ πόλις μὴ εἶναι ἔτι ἀρῶν καὶ μήτε
 Ἑλλήσιν παρὰ ἑλλήσιν δουλοῦμένοις, μήτε ἑσθ' Βαρβάρ-
 οισι, ὅταν ὥκε. ἡμῶν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ ἀφελείᾳ ὄντων, ἡγε-
 σόμενοι διακαδαμόνοι τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὅρκους
 πεπρωμένους ἡμῶν, σφέτεροι δὲ ἦσαν ἔργῳ εἶναι καταδουλοῦ-
 σθαι

ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους, ταῦτ' ἐπερὶ τοῖς. καὶ μυκύνει μὲν τί
 δὲ; ἔ γ' ἢ πάλαι ὅσθι πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότα λέγεται
 εἶναι τὰ μὲν ταῦτα. αὐτοὶ γ' ἴσμεν ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἀφί-
 κοντο εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων ①. ὥσθτοι
 Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ τὸν θεῖον πάντων, 5
 ὃ καὶ Βασιλέα εἰς τὴντο ὑποχείας ἀφικέσθαι, ὥστε περὶ τῆς
 αὐτῆς μηδαμῶθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ σωτηρίαν θμεῖς, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ ταύ-
 τῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἢν περὶ τῆς ἀπάλλου. καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴ τις
 βύλοιτο τῆς πόλεως κατηρησῆαι δικαίως, τῆς δ' αὖ μόνον
 λέγων ὀρθῶς αὖ κατηρησῆαι, ὡς αἰεὶ λίαν φιλοκλήρμων ὅτι, 10
 καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου γεραπείας. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἔχ
 οῖατε ἐγέρτο καρτερῆσαι, ὅσθι ἀφελύξαι αὖ ἐλδοκτο
 αὐτῇ, τὸ μηδενὶ δουλουμένῳ βοηθεῖν τῷ σφῶς ἀδικησά-
 των· ἀλλὰ ἐκάμψθη, καὶ ἐβόηθη, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλήνας
 αὕτη βοηθήσασα ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὥς ἐλδοκτο ②, 15
 μέγας ἔσ' ὅτι αὐτοὶ αὐτὴς κατεδουλώσαντο. Βασιλεῖς
 δὲ αὕτη μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμοι βοηθεῖν, αἰχμησμένη τὰ πρὸς
 πᾶσι τότε Μακεδῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῶνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς. φυ-
 γάδας δὲ ἐβόησαντες εἰσάσασα μόνον βοηθεῖν, ἀμολογυ-
 μέως ἔσως, τεχισαμένη δὲ καὶ ταυπησασμένη, ἐκδεξά- 20
 μένη ἢ παλεῖται, ἐπειδὴ ἡγαγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, ὥσθ Παι-
 εῖων ἐπολέμει Λακεδαιμονίοις. φοβηθεὶς δὲ Βασιλεὺς τῶν
 πόλεων, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρα Λακεδαιμονίους πρὸς τῇ γάλατταν πο-
 λέμῳ ἀπαρκεύοντας, ὑποστῆναι βυλόμενον, ἐξήγαγε τοὺς
 Ἑλλήνας

Ελλῆνας τῆς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, (οὔτε περ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι αὐτοῖς ἐξέδσαν, εἰ μέλλοι συμμαχήσειν ἡμῶν τε καὶ
τῶν ἄλλοις συμμαχοῖς,) ἡγέμενος οὗκ ἐθέλησεν, ἢ αὐ-
τῷ πρὸς φάσις εἴη τὸ σπασάσεως. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄλλων συμ-
μαχῶν ἐφύλασθαι (ἡγήθησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκδιδοῖναι, καὶ ξυνέθεντο
καὶ ὤμωσαν, Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι
σύμμαχοι, εἰ μέλλοι χρήματα παρέξειν, ἐκδώσει τοὺς ἐν
τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ελλῆνας) μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς οὗκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ὅτε
ἐκδιώκω, οὔτε ὁμῶσαι. Οὕτω δὴ τοι τόγῃ τῆς πόλεως
τοῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλεύθερον βέβαιόν τε καὶ ὑγιές ὅστι, καὶ φύσιν μι-
σοβάρβαρον, διὰ τὸ εὐλακρινῶς εἶναι) Ελλῆνες καὶ ἀμύβεις Βαρ-
βάρων. καὶ γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ Κᾶδμοι, οὐδὲ Αἰγυπιοὶ τε καὶ
Δαῖαοι, οὐδὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, φύσιν μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες,
νόμῳ δὲ Ελλῆνες, συνοικῶσιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ Ελλῆνες, οὐ
μυσοβάρβαροι, οἰκῶμεν· ὅθεν καθαρόν τ' ἡμῖς ἐντέτικα
τῇ πόλιν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν φύσεως. ὅμως δ' οὕτω ἐμοιῶσθαι
πάλιν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν αἰσχεῖν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσα-
σθαι, Ελλῆνας Βαρβάρους ἐκδόντες.

Ελθόντες δὲ εἰς ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν καὶ τοπρῶτερον κατεπο-
λεμήθημεν, σιῶν Θεῶν ἄμεινον ἢ τότε ἐθέμεθα τὸν πόλεμον
καὶ γὰρ ναῦς καὶ τείχη ἔχοντες, καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν σπο-
κίας, ἀπὸ πλάγῃ μιν ὅσον πολέμῳ. οὕτως ἀγαπητῶς ἀπὸ πλά-
γῃ τίσιντο καὶ ὁ πολέμῳ. ἀνδρῶν μὲντοι ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν
τῷ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει, πᾶσι τε ἐν Κορίνθῳ χρυσά-
μειν

30 ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

μένει δυσχέρεια, καὶ ἐν Λακείᾳ, περὶ πόλιν ἀγαθὴν ἣ καὶ οἱ Βασιλεῖς ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἐσβαλόντες οἱ αὖτε θαλάττης Λακιδαιμοῖους. ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῶς ἀναμενέμεθα, ὑμῶς δὲ πρὸς ξυμπεπαιγῶν τε καὶ κοσμεῖν τοσούτους ἀνδρας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔργα ταῦτα τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ἐνθάδε καὶ 5 μένῳ, καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὅσοι ἔσονται τῆς πόλεως πεπαιγμένοι, πολλὰ μὲν τὰ εἰρημνέα ἔσονται καλὰ, πολὺ δ' ἐπὶ πλείονα καὶ καλλίονα τὰ ἐπιπολεπόμμενα. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις καὶ νύκτας οὐχ ἴσται θύοιτο πρὸς τὰ πάντα μέλλοντι φεραίνοι. τάττω οὖν χρὴ μεμνημένοις, τοῖς τάττω ἐλγείοις πάντ' ἐοικέναι φερεσθῆναι, ὥσπερ εἰς πόλεμον, μὴ λείπονται τινὲς τάξιν τῇ τῶν φερόντων, μηδ' εἰς ἐκείνῳ ἀναστρεφῆναι, ἔκαστος καὶ καὶ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὅ παῖδες ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τε φερεσθῆναι, καὶ εἰς τὴν λοιπὴν χρόνον, ὅταν αὐτὰ ἐπιτυχάνῃ ὑμεῖς, καὶ ἀναμίσξῃ καὶ ἀφαιρέσῃται ποιεῖν περὶ μεῖναι (εἰ) ὡς ἀείψετε. ἐπὶ γὰρ παρὸν δεύρομαι ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἃ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπέσκεπτον ἀπαγγέλλειν τοῖς λειπομένοις, ἔπει πάραυτα, ἥνκα καθίστασθαι ἡμεῖς. φερούμεν γὰρ ὑμῖν ἅτε αὐτῶν ἡκουσα ἐκείνων, καὶ οἷα οὗτοι ἡδύναν ἐν ὅπλοις ὑμῶν, λαβόντες διωκόμενοι περὶ μεῖναι (εἰ) ὡς οὐ τότε ἔλεγον. ἀλλὰ νομίζω χρὴ αὐτῶν ἀκούειν ἐκείνων ἃ ἀπ' ἀπαγγέλλων. ἔλεγον δὲ ταῦτα.

Ὡς παῖδες, ὅτι μάλιστα πατήρων ἀγαθῶν, αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὰ τῶν πατρῶν ἡμῶν δὲ ἔστιν ἵνα μὴ κελεύσῃ, καλῶς αἰρούμεθα

μὴν γὰρ τιμὰς γινέσθαι ἐκλήσεις, καλὰς θυσιαστές, καὶ μα-
 γαλοπρεπὲς· χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τιμῇ θυσια-
 ρῶν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκλήσεσιν ὡς διδόναι, αἰσχροὺς καὶ ἀνομι-
 δροὺς, ὥστε ἴδωσι αὐτοὺς κτηνιάκων τε καὶ εὐδοξίων. καὶ
 εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ὁπτιηδύσῃτε, φίλοι ὡς φίλους ἡμῶν 5
 ἀφίξεσθε, ὅταν δὴ ὑμᾶς ἡ παροσκήκουσα μοῖρα κομήσῃ.
 ἀμελήσαντες ἢ ὑμᾶς καὶ κακισθέντες ὁδοὺς ἐμδυνῶς ὑπο-
 δέξῃ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν παισὶ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθαι.

Πατέρας ἢ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσι, καὶ μητέρας, εἰ καὶ ὡς
 μηδεῖαται, ὥς καὶ ῥάστα φέρειν τίλιν συμφορῇ, εἰ μὴ ἀρα 10
 ξυμβῇ θνήσκειν, καὶ μὴ ξυμοδύρεσθαι. (ὅτι γὰρ τῷ λυπησά-
 τος παροσκήκουσται· ἵκανον γὰρ ἔσται καὶ ἡ θνητοῦ τύχη τῷτο
 πορίσασθαι) ἀλλ' ἰωμένους καὶ παραινέσαντες, ἀπαμύνησκει αὐ-
 τῶς ὅτι ὡς εὐχόμενοι, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς ① Θεοὶ ἐπήκου-
 σήσονται. ὅτι γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὐχόμενους θνήσκειν, 15
 ἀλλ' ἀγαθούς καὶ εὐκλείεις· ὡς ἔτυχον, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν
 ὄντων. πάντες δὲ οὐ ραδίον· θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο
 αὐτοῦ βίον ἐκβάλλουσιν, καὶ φέροντες μὲν ἀνδρείως τὰς συμ-
 φοράς, δόξουσι τῷ ὄντι ἀνδρείως παίδων πατέρες εἶναι, καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ταῦτοι· ὑπερέκοντες δὲ, ὑπερφύδοντες παρέρχονται ἢ 20
 μὴ ἡμέτεροι εἶναι, ἢ ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπαινεῖν καὶ κατεφύδοντες.
 καὶ ἢ ὁδοὺς τῶν τῶν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μάλιστα πάντων, ἡμῶν
 ἐπαμύνας, εἶναι, ἔργα πτόχοντες αὐτοὺς φαινομένους τῷ
 ὄντι πατέρας ὄντας ἀνδρας ἀνδρῶν. πάλαι γὰρ δὴ τὸ

ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ λεγόμενον, χαλῶς δοκῇ λέγεσθαι.
 τῷ γὰρ ὅτι εὖ λέγεται ὅτι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρτη)
 πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα, ἢ ἐγγὺς τούτου, καὶ
 μὴ οὐ ἀλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἰωρεῖται, ἔξ ὧν ἢ εὖ ἢ χαλῶς
 5 παραξόντων πληροῦσαι ἠάγχεσαι, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ τούτῳ
 ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀνάστασιν ζῆν. οὗτος ὅστις ὁ σώφρων, καὶ αὐτὸς
 ὁ ἀνδρῆος καὶ φρόνιμος οὗτος, γιγνομένων χρημάτων καὶ
 παίδων, καὶ ἀφροδισιμάτων, μάλιστα πείσεται τῇ πα-
 ρουσίᾳ· οὔτε γὰρ χαίρων οὔτε λυπόμενων ἄγει φαίησι),
 10 ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὸς πεπεισμένος τοιούτους δὲ ἡμεῖς γε ἀξιῶμεν καὶ
 αὐτὸν ἡμετέροις εἶ), καὶ βουλόμεθα, καὶ φαμέν· καὶ ἡμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς νῦν πρὸς ἔχουμεν τοιούτους, ὅτι ἀναγκαστέον, ὅτι δὲ
 φοβούμενοι ἄγει, εἰ δὲ πελοῦται οὐ τῷ παρόντι. Δεό-
 μεθα δὲ καὶ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ
 15 χρωμένους τὸν ὀπίλοιπον βίον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ
 θρηνηντες ἔδωκεν ὁλοφρεμένοι ἡμᾶς ἡμῖν μάλιστα χαλεποιῶται
 ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὅστις τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι αἰσθητοῖς πῶν ζώντων,
 οὕτως ἀχάριτοι εἴη ἀνὴρ μάλιστα, ἑαυτὸς τε χαλεποιῶν, καὶ
 βαρέως φέροντες τὰς συμφορὰς· κούφως δὲ καὶ μετρίως,
 20 μάλιστα ἀνὴρ χαλεπὸν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα τελευτήν ἤδη
 ἔξῃ, ἢ περὶ χαλεπὴ γίνεται ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε ὥρμηται αὐτὰ
 μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν ἢ θρηνεῖν. γυναικῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ
 παίδων ὅτι μελέμενοι καὶ τρέφοντες, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὰ τὸν νοῦν
 D τρέποντες

πρέποντες, τῆς τε τύχης μάλις· ἀνέειν ἐν λήθῃ καὶ ζῶει
καλλίον καὶ ὀρθότερον, ἢ ἡμῖν προσφιλέστερον.

Ταῦτα δὴ ἱκανὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις πατρὶ ἡμῶν ἀγγέλλειν.
τῇ δὲ πόλει προκελευόμεθα· ἀνέως ἡμῖν καὶ πατέρων καὶ
υἱῶν ἐπιμελήσονται, τοὺς μὲν παίδευόντες κοσμίως, τοὺς δὲ
δὲ γηροπροφουῶντες, ἀξίως· οὗν ᾧ ἴσμεν ὅτι καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἡμεῖς
προκελευόμεθα, ἱκανῶς ἐπιμελήσεται.

Ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ παῖδες καὶ γονεῖς τῶν τελευτησάντων,
ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπέσκηπτον ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς δύνα-
μαι προθυμότερα ἀπαγγέλλω· καὶ αὐτοὺς δέομαι ὑμῶν ἰο
ἐκείνων, τῶν μὲν, μιμῆσθαι σὺν αὐτοῖς· τῶν δὲ, παρρεῖν
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν· ὡς ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ γηροπροφου-
σόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπιμελησάμενων, ὅπου ἀνέχεσθαι ἐχέτω
ἐντυγχάνῃ ὁσφοῦν τῶν ἐκείνων. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἵστε· που
καὶ αὐτοὶ τίμω ἐπιμέλεια, ὅτι νόμοις θεμελίῃ φέρει τοὺς τῷ 15
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παῖδας τε καὶ θνήσκοντας,
ἐπιμελεῖται· καὶ ἀναφαιρόντων τῶν ἄλλων πολυτῶν προτε-
τακται φυλάττειν ἀρχὴν ἥπερ μέγιστη ἐστίν, ὅπως ἀνὴρ (A)
τῶν μὴ ἀδικῶνται πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες. τῶν δὲ παῖ-
δας συνέκτρεφει αὐτῇ, προθυμουμένη ὅτι μάλις· ἀδελφοὶ 20
αὐτοῖς τίμω ὀφθαλμοὶ θιμῆσθαι· ἐν πατέρες ὁχλήματι κατα-
στῆσαι αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ, ἐπὶ τε πασινοῖς οὖσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἀν-
δρὲς τέλος ἴωσιν, ἀποπέμψῃ ὅτι τὰ σφέτερά αὐτοῖς, πα-
νοπλίᾳ κοσμήσασα· ἐνδεκνυμένη καὶ ἀναμνησκουσα τὰ

τῷ πατρὸς ὀπιτηδεύματα, ὅργανα τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς
 διδύσα· καὶ ἅμα οἶνονδ' χάριν ἀρχέσθαι ἰέναι ὅππῃ τῷ
 πατρῴῳ ἐσίῃ, ἀρξοῖα μετ' ἰσχύος ὅπλεις κακοσημῆδον.
 αὐτοὺς ἧ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας πᾶσα οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει
 5 καὶ ἕκαστον ἐπαιτὸν αὐτῇ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιοῦσα κοινῇ
 πᾶσιν, ἅπερ ἰδία ἐκάσῳ ἰδίᾳ γίγνεται. πρὸς ἧ ταύτοις
 ἀγῶνας γυμνικούς καὶ ἵππικὸν πηϊῖσιν, καὶ μουσικῆς πά-
 σης· καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τῶν μὲν τελευτησάντων, ἐν κληρονομίᾳ
 καὶ ἕως μοίρα κατεστηκῶσα, τῶν ἧ ἕων, ἐν πατρὸς, γο-
 10 νέων ἧ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐν ἐπιτρόπῃ· πᾶσαν πάντων ὡρᾶ
 πάντα χρήσιον ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖμένη. ὣν χρηρὸν ὀφθαλμοῦς,
 πρὸς τὸν φέρειν τὴν ξυμφορὰν. τοῖς δὲ τελευτήσασιν καὶ
 τοῖς ζῶσιν οὕτως ἀνὰ προσφιλέσας εἴητι, καὶ ῥᾶτοι θερά-
 πειν τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι. ἦν δὲ ἤδη ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοι
 15 πάντες, κοινῇ χεῖρ' ἔχοντες τῆς τετελευτηκότας ἀπολοφυ-
 ράμενοι, ἀπῆτε.

ΣΩ. Οὗτός σοι ὁ λόγος, ὦ Μενέξενε, Ασπασίας τῆς
 Μιλησίας ὅςτι. ΜΕ. Νῆ Δία, ὦ Σάκρατες, μακαρίαν
 20 γὰρ λέγεις τὴν Ασπασίαν, εἰ γυνὴ οὕσα τοιούτους λόγους
 οἶα τ' ὅςτι σωτηρέτω. ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πιστεύεις, ἀκο-
 λούη μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀκρόσῃ αὐτῆς λεγούσης. ΜΕ. Πολ-
 λάκις, ὦ Σάκρατες, ἐγὼ ἐντετύχηκα Ασπασίᾳ, καὶ οἶδα
 οἶα ὅςτι. ΣΩ. Τί οὖν; ὅςτι ἀγαθὴ αὐτὴν, καὶ ἦν χάριν
 ἔχεις

36 ΠΛΑΤ. ΕΠΙΤΑΦ.

ἔχεις τὸ λόγον αὐτῇ; ΜΕ. Καὶ πολλοὺς, ὦ Σό-
 κρῃς; ἐγὼ χάριν ἔχω πάντες τοῦ λόγου χάριν, ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα
 ὅτις σοι ὁ εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων πολλῶν
 χάριν ἔχω πρὸς εἰπόντι. ΣΩ. Εὖ ἀν' ἔχει. ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ
 μὴ κατερῆς, ἵνα ἔῃ αὐτῇς σοι πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους,
 πρὶν αὐτῇς πολιταὺς ἀπαγγέλλω. ΜΕ. Θάρρη, ἔ' κατα-
 ρῶ μόνον ἀπάγγελαι. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἔσται.

Λ Τ Σ Ι Ο Υ

Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ

Τ Ο Ι Σ

Κ Ο Ρ Ι Ν Θ Ι Ω Ν Β Ο Η Θ Ο Ι Σ .

ΕΙ μὲν ἡγούμενοι οἶόν τε εἶναι, ὦ παρόντες, ὑπὲρ τῶνδε
τῶ τάφῳ, λόγῳ δηλῶσαι τῇ τῶν ἐνθάδε κεμένων
ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῇ, ἐμεμφάμενοι ἀνὰ τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι ἐπ' αὐ-
τοῖς ἔξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λέγειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι ἀν-
5 θρώποις ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἔχ' ἰσχυρὸς λόγον ἴσους ὡςχευά-
σαι τοῖς τέττονι ἔργοις, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκῇ,
προνομία τῇ ἐνθάδε λεγόντων, ἔξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρὸς αὐ-
ξὺν ποιῆσαι· ἡγεμένη οὕτως ἀνὰ μέγιστα συνηθόμενος αὐτοὺς
ὡς τῶν ἀκουσάντων τυχεῖναι. ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν λόγος
10 μοι φερέ τέττονι, ὁ δ' ἀγὰρ ἔχει πρὸς τὰ τέττονι ἔργα, ἀλλὰ
πρὸς τὰς φερέτερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκότα. τοσαύτῳ γὰρ
ἀφροδίτῃ παρεσκευάσθαι ἢ τούτων ἀρετῇ καὶ τοῖς ποιῶν
διωκμένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ βουληθεῖσι, ὥστε καλὰ μὲν
πολλὰ τοῖς φερέτεροις φερέ αὐτῇ εἰρηκότα, πολλὰ δ' ἐ
καὶ

καὶ ἐκείνοις ὥρᾳ λελείφθαι· ἰχθαὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀπιηγο-
 μένοις· ἔξωται εἰπεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ γῆς ἀπειροί οὕτω θαλάττης
 ὁδὲ μιᾶς, πῶντα χεῖρ ἢ καὶ ὥρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ① τὰ
 αὐτῶν περὶ ὄντες κακὰ, τὰς τέτων ἀρετὰς ὑμῖσι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰς παλαιούς κινδύνους τῶν περὶ γένων 5
 δίδωμι, μνήμην ὥρᾳ τῆς φήμης λαβόν. ἄξιον γὰρ πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ κείνων μεμνησθαι, ὑμνοῦντα μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὤ-
 δαῖς, λέγοντας δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμασι, τιμῶντας
 δ' ἐν τοῖς χειροῖς τοῖς ποίτοις, παιδύοντα δ' ἐν τοῖς
 τεχνεῶτων ἔργοις τὰς ζῶντας. Ἀμαζόνες μὲν γὰρ, Ἀρεὸς μὲν 10
 τοπαλαῖον ἦσαν θυγατέρες, οἰκῶσαι δὲ ὥρᾳ τῶν Θερμώ-
 δου πατρῶν, μῆται δὲ ὀπλισμένης σιδήρου. τῶν πατρῶν αὐ-
 τὰς, ὥρᾳ δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ' ἵππους ἀναβῶσαι, οἷς
 ἀνελπίστας, δι' ἀπειρίας τῶν ἐνὶ γένει, ἔργων μὲν τοὺς
 φεύγοντας, ἀπέλειπον δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας· ἐνομιζόντο δὲ 15
 ἀφ' ὧν εὐφύχων μᾶλλον ἄνδρες, ἢ ἀφ' ὧν τὴν φύσιν γυ-
 ναῖκες. πλεον γὰρ ἐδόκειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀφ-
 ἔρειν, ἢ ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν. ἄρχουσαι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν,
 καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τὰς πατρῶν αὐτὰς κατὰ δεδουλωμένα, λόγῳ ἢ
 πατρῶν τῶνδε τῆς χώρας ἀκούουσαι κλέος μέγα, πολλῆς δὲ 20
 ξηρὸς καὶ μεγάλῃς ἐλπίδι· ὅτι χάριν ὥρᾳ λαβούσαι τὰ μα-
 χιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐστράτευσαι ὅτι τῶνδε τῶν πάντων.
 τυχεῖσαι δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁμοίως ἐκλήσαντο· τὰς ψυχὰς
 τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐνὶ γένει τῶνδε δοῦσαι τῆς περὶ γένων λαβούσαι,
 μᾶλλον

μάλλον ἢ τῶν κηδόνων ἢ ἢ τῶν σωμάτων ἔδοξαν εἶναι
 χαῖνες· μόναις δ' αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐξομῆς ἢ τῶν ἡμαρτη-
 μάτων μαδούσαις παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄμεποι βουλεύσασθαι,
 ἔδ' οἴχεσθαι ἀπελθούσαις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τίς τε σφετέρῃ αὐτῶν
 5 δυστυχίῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἡμετέρων παρρήνῳ ἀρετῇ. αὐτῶν
 γὰρ ἀποθανῆναι, καὶ δοῦναι δίκην τῆς ἀνοίας, τῆσδε μὲν τῇ
 πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἀθάνατοι μὴ μὴ ἐποίησαντο,
 τῇ δὲ ἑαυτῶν πατέρῃ, διὰ τὴν οὐχ ἰσχυρὰν ἀνίστη-
 μιν κατέστησαν. ἐκείναι μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀδίκως ὅτι-
 10 γυμνῶσαι, τῇ αὐτῶν δικαίως ἀπώλεια.

Ἀδράστῳ γὰρ καὶ Πολυαείκῳ ὅτι Θήβας στρατοκραντων,
 καὶ ἡττηθέντων μάχῃ, οὐκ ἔωνται τῶν Καδμείων γάπτεσθαι
 τὴν νεκρῶν, Ἀθηναῖοι ἡγοσάμενοι ἐκείνους μὲν, εἰπὶ ἡδίκῃ,
 ἀποθανόντας δίκην ἔχειν τῇ μεγίστῃ, τὴν γὰρ καὶ τὰ αὐ-
 15 τῶν ἐχομίζεσθαι, ἱερῶν γὰρ ματαιομένων τὴν αἰῶν Θεὸς ἀσπ-
 βείας, τὸ μὲν παρὸν πέμψαντες κήρυκας, ἔδωκεν αὐ-
 τῶν δοῦναι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν· νομίζοντες ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἀγα-
 θῶν εἶναι ζῶντας τὴν ἐχθρῶν πικρῶν πικρῶν, ἀπιστούντων δὲ
 σφίσι αὐτοῖς, ἐν τοῖς τῶν πενέων σώμασι τῇ εὐψυχίᾳ
 20 ὁπιδεύουσαν. ἔδωκεν οὖν γὰρ τῶν τυχεῶν, ἐφάπτεσθαι
 ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἔδωκεν ἀλλοτρίᾳ παρρησίᾳ παρὰ Καδμείους
 ὑπαρχούσης, ἔδωκεν τοῖς ζῶσι Ἀρτίων χαλεπῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 πενέων ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν νομιζομένων τυλ-
 χάνειν, παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέρων ἐκκλίνουσαν.
 ὅτι

Ἦτορ' μὲν τῶν, ἵνα μὴ κέπῃ εἰς τὴν πεδιῶντα, ἔξαμαρτάνοντες, πλείω θεοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔξυβρίσωσιν. Ἦτορ' δὲ τ' ἐτέρων, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὸν εἰς πλεῖν αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωσι, παρὰ πῆλ' ἀτυχήσαντες, καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου τερηθέντες, καὶ κοῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμαρτηκότις. ταῦτα ληθισθέντες, 5 καὶ τὰς ὅτι τῷ πολέμῳ τύχας, κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτάμενοι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμμαχοι, οἴκῳ μαχόμενοι. Ἐοὐχὶ ὑπὸ τῇ τύχῃ ἐπαρθέντες, μέζονος πρὸς Κασμείῳ τιμωρίας ἐπεθύμουν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσθεΐας τ' ἰαυ- 10 τῶν ἀρετῇ ἐπεδείξαντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ἄθλα ὥνπερ ἔνεχα ἀφίκοντο, τὴν Ἀργείων νεκροὺς ἔδωκαν ὅτι αὐτῶν ἔλαδον. θεοὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τῶν ἐπὶ ὅτι θήσας τοῖς τοῖς γένεσιν.

Τότε δὲ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ δὴ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων 15 ἠφανίσθη, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἔφευγον μὲν Εὐρυπύδα, ἔξηλαύνοντο δὲ Ἦτορ' πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αἰχματομένων μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις, φοβουμένων δὲ πλεῖν Εὐρυπύδα διώμεν, ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἰκέται ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ ἐκαθέζοντο. ἔξαι- 20 τημένους δὲ αὐτοὺς Εὐρυπύδα, Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐκδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἡρακλῆος ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἠδύντο, ἢ τὴν κίνδυνον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ ἡξίουσιν Ἦτορ' τῶν ἀσθενέστερον μὲν τοῦ δίκαιου ἀνταρταῖον μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῖς δυναμένοις χαλίζομενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἀδικημένους ἐκδοῦναι.

ὄναι· ὅπισθε αὖθις αὖτ' ὁ δ' Εὐρυπύκτος μὲν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ
 τῷ χρόνῳ Πελοπόννησον ἐχόντων, οὐκ ἐγγὺς τῷ δειπῶν γε-
 νόμῳ μετέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχον γνάμψιν ἥνπερ
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὸς αὐτῶν
 5 πεποιηθῆναι, ἀκαίριος τ' ἐκ εἰδότες ὁποῖοί τις ἀνὴρ ἔστι-
 ται θρόνον· δίκαιοι δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὐ πρὸς τὰς
 ἔχθρας ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς Εὐρυπύκτον, οὐδὲ κέρδους πρὸς
 κινδύνῳ, πλὴν δόξης ἀγαθῆς, τοσούτοις κινδύνοις ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν ἦσαν· οὐ μὲν ἀδικησάντες ἐλεῦντες, τὰς δ' ὑβρί-
 10 ζοντας μισῶντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν καλύειν ὀφειλόμενοι, τοῖς
 δ' ἐπακουρῆν ἀξιῶντες. ἡγήμῳ ἐλθούσας μὲν σημείον
 εἶναι, μὴ δὲ ποιεῖν ἀκοντας, δικαιοσύνης ᾗ, τοῖς ἀδικου-
 μένοις βοηθεῖν· εὐφυχίας δ', ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, εἰ
 δέοι, μαχομένους ἀποθήσκειν. τοσούτοις δ' ἐφρόνου ἀμ-
 15 φότερι, ὅσῳ δ' ὁ μὲν μετ' Εὐρυπύκτου οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκόντων
 ἐξήτου ἐύεσκεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἡξίου Εὐρυπύκτον
 αὐτὸν ἱκετεύσθαι τὰς ἱκέτας αὐτῶν ἐξελεῖν. πρὸς αὐτῶν
 ἡγήμῳ δ' ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει τὴν ἐξ ἀπάσης Πελοποννήσου στρα-
 τὴν ἐλθούσαν εἶναι μαχόμενοι· καὶ τῶν παίδων τὰ μὲν
 σώματα εἰς ἄστυα κατέστησαν, ἀπαλλάξαντες δὲ τὸ δέος
 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡλευθέρωσαν, ἀφ' ἧς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρε-
 τήν, ἀκαίριος δὲ τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδύνοις ἐπεφάνισεν· τοσού-
 20 τον ᾗ εὐτυχέστεροι παῖδες ὅντες ἐβόησαν τῷ πατρί· ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ, καίπερ ὢν ἀγαθὸν πολλῶν αἰτίως ἀπῆλθεν ἀνθρώποις,

ἐπίπτοι καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ φιλότιμοι αὐτῷ κρατήσαντες τὴν
βίαν, τὸς μὲν ἄλλους ἀδικουῦσιν ἐκώλυσεν, Εὐρυθέα δὲ
καὶ ἔχθρην ὄντα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, ἔχθρῳ οἶός
τε ἢ πικρῶσαι. ① δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἧς τήνδε τὴν
πρόβλην τῇ αὐτῇ εἶδον ἡμέρα τιμὴν δ' ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίαν, καὶ 5
τὴν πᾶν ἔχθρῳ πικρῶσαι.

Παλλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῖς ἡμετέροις παροῦσι μὲν
νόμῳ χρημῶντος πρὸς τῷ δικαίῳ ἀφ' ἡμέρας. ἢ τε γὰρ
ἀρχὴ τῷ βίου δικαία. ἔτι γὰρ, ὥσπερ ① παλλὰ, πα-
ταχόθεν συμπελεγμένοι, καὶ ἐτέροις ἐκβαλόντες, τὴν ἀλ- 10
λοτερίαν ἔκκομαι, ἀλλ' αὐτόχρονος ὄντες, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείν-
ητο μὲν καὶ πατρίδα. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ μόνον οἱ
ἐκείνῳ πρὸ χρόνῳ ἐκβαλόντες τὰς πόλιν σφίσι αὐτοῖς δυ-
νασταίαν, Δημοκρασίαν κρατήσαντες. ἡγήμενοι τὴν πάντων
ἐλευθερίαν, ὁμοῦσαι εἶσι μεγίστην κοινὰς δ' ἀλλήλοις ταῖς 15
ἐκ τῶν καθεύοντι ἐλπίδας ποιήσαντες, ἐλευθέρους ταῖς
ψυχαῖς ἐπολιτεύοντο· νόμον τὸς ἀγαθούς τιμῶντες καὶ τὸς
κακούς κολάζοντες· ἡγεμόνοι θύσαντες μὲν ἔργον (εἰ), ὑπὸ
ἀλλήλων βίαν κρατῶνται, ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσήκουσαν, νόμον
μὲν ὁρῶσι τὸ δίκαιον, λόγῳ δὲ πείσασθαι, ἔργῳ ἢ τέτοις ὑπὸ 20
ρετῆν ὑπὸ νόμου μὲν βασιλευσάντων, ὑπὸ λόγῳ ἢ διδα-
σκαλῶν. καὶ γάρτοι καὶ φύντες καλῶς, καὶ γόντες δ-
μῶνα, πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστά ① παροῦσι τῶν
ἐνθάδε κεμεῖν ἐργάσαντες· αἰετῶν ἢ καὶ μεγάλων καὶ
καλῶν.

πανταχοῦ οἱ ἔξ ἐκείνων γενοῖσιν πρόσωπα διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν
 ἀρετὴν κατέλπειν. μόναι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν Βαρβάρων δις ἐκπεύχουσιν
 ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἀγαπῶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν
 5 ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζει καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ δουλώσεσθαι,
 ἔπειθε πεντήκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶν. ἡγεμόνους δὲ, εἰ
 τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἢ ἐκοῦσαι φίλιον ποιήσαντο, ἢ ἀκύνουσαι
 χαλεπὸν φανέναι, ῥαδίως τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἄρξεν, ἀπέθε-
 σαν εἰς Μακεδόνα νομίσαντες οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐρημοτάτους εἶναι
 10 συμμαχῶν οὐδ' Ἑλλήνων, εἰ, ἐπὶ γασσιζήσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ὅππῃ χρὴ πρόσω τὸς ἐπιόντας ἀμύναντο, τὸν κίνδυνον ποι-
 ῆσαντο. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῶν πλεόντων ἔργων οὐδ' ἓ πό-
 λειος τοιαύτη δόξα πρὸς τῆς, ὥς εἰ μὲν πρῶτες ἐπ'
 ἄλλῃ πόλιν ἴωσιν, ἐκείνοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πωλεμήσουσι·
 15 πρῶτος γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικεμένοις ἥξει βοήθῃσιντες. εἰ δ'
 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὕτως ἀφίξονται, ὅτε θῆκας ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 τολμήσων, ἐτέρους σώζοντες, φανεράν ἔχθραν πρὸς ἐκ-
 εῖνοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κατὰ γένειαν. ① μὴ τοίῳ ταῦτα
 διανοῶντο· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρῶτοι, ἢ λογιζομῶ ἐιδότες τὸς
 20 οὐκ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ κινδύνους, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες τὸν ἐν λείᾳ
 γένεσθαι ἀγίαστον οὐδ' ἑ ἀγαθῶν καταλείπειν λόγον, οὐκ
 ἐφοβήθημεν τὸ πλῆθος τῷ ἐναντίῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ
 μαῶλλον ἐπίστευε. καὶ αἰχμολόμοι ὅτι ἦν οἱ Βάρβαροι αὐτῶν
 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἔκ ἀνέμειναν πυθέσθαι ὅτε βοηθήσῃ τὸς συμμα-
 χους.

χυς· οὐδ' ὥήθησαν δ' εἰς ἑτέροις τ' σωτηρίας χάριν εἶδέναι,
 ἀλλὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖς τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλήνας. ταῦτα μὲν γινώ-
 μη πάντες γνώτες, ἀπὴντων ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλούς. ἐνόμιζον
 γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς μὲν πάντων πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἀγαθούς δ'
 εἶ) μὲν ὀλίγων· καὶ τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀφ' ἑαυ- 5
 νατων κακῶν, τὴν δ' ἐκ τ' κινδύνων μνήμην ἰδίαν χα-
 ταλείψαν. ἡξίοιεν δ' οὐς μὴ μόνοι νικῶν, ἐδ' ἂν μὲν συμ-
 μάχων δύνασθαι· καὶ ἡττηθέντες μὲν, ὀλίγων τῶν ἄλλων
 παραπολεῖσθαι, νικήσαντες δ', καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐλευθερώσειν.
 ἄνδρες δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἡρόδομοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν σομάτων ἀφειδή- 10
 σαντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τ' ἀρετῆς οὐ φιλοψυχήσαντες, ἐ μάλ-
 λον τῆς πρὸ αὐτοῖς νόμους αἰσχυρόμοι, ἢ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
 πολεμίους κίνδυνον φοβέμενοι, ἔστη μὲν πρόπαια ὑπὲρ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ὑπὲρ
 χρημάτων εἰς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐμβαλόντων πρὸς τοὺς ὀρ- 15
 κοῖς. οὕτω γὰρ διὰ ταχέων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐποίησαντο, ὥστε
 αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγειλαν τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀφίξιν τ' βαρ-
 βάρων καὶ τὴν τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτούς νίκην. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὁδοὶς τ'
 ἄλλων εἶδεν ὑπὲρ τῆς μέλλοντος κινδύνου, ἀλλ' ἀκρί-
 σαντες ὑπὲρ τ' αὐτῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡσθίον. ὥστε ὁδοὶν γὰρ 20
 μακρὰν, παλαιῶν ἔργων γενημένων, ὥσπερ καινῶν ὄντων,
 ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζη-
 λῶσθαι.

Μετά

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὁ τῆς Ασίας βασιλεὺς, κα-
 ταφρονήσας μὲν τῆς Ελλάδος, ἐψευσμένος ᾧ ἔῃ ἐλπίδες,
 αἴψμαζόμενος ᾧ τὸ γηθημόν, ἀχθόμενος ᾧ τῇ συμ-
 φορᾷ, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἀπαθῆς δ' ὢν κακῶν καὶ
 5 ἀπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀλᾶτων, δεκάτῳ ἔτι ὠδυσσευσάμενος,
 χιλίαις μὲν καὶ ἀγχοσίαις ναυσὶν ἀφίκετο τῆς δὲ περὶ
 στρατῶς οὕτως ἀπειρον τὸ πλῆθος ἦγει, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἔθνη
 τὰ μετ' αὐτῷ ἀκολυθῆσαντα πολὺ ἀν' ἔργον εἶη χαλεπέστα-
 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σημεῖον τοῦ πλήθους· ἔξον γὰρ αὐτῷ χιλίαις
 10 ναυσὶ ἀγχοσίαις καὶ ὁ σφόδρα τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῃ ἔ-
 ζην στρατιὰν ὅκα τῆς Ασίας εἰς πλὴν Εὐρώπῃ, οὐκ ἐδέ-
 λησει, ἡγόμενος τὴν ἀγχοσίαν αὐτῷ πᾶσι πᾶσι
 ἀλλ' ὑπερδὸν καὶ τὰ φύσιν πεφυκότα καὶ τὰ θεῖα περὶ
 ματα, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους ἀγχοσίας, ὁδὸν μὲν διὰ τῆς θα-
 15 λάσσης ἐποιήσατο, πλοῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς ἡγάγετο ἡμέ-
 ρα· ζεύξας μὲν ἔῃ Ἑλλησπόντον, διέρύξας ᾧ τὸν Ἀῶν ὑφι-
 σταμένην ἔδειξεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν μὲν, ἀκόντων ὑπακούοντων, ἔ-
 δε, ἐκόντων περὶδιδόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἰχθυοὶ ἦσαν ἀμύ-
 ναοι, ἀλλὰ δ' ὑπὸ χρημάτων διεφθαρμένοι ἀμφοτέρω
 20 δ' ἢ αὐτῶν τὰ πείθοντα, κέρδος καὶ δέου. Ἀθηναῖοι δ'
 ἔπειτα ἀγαμέμνης τῆς Ελλάδος, αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς
 εἰσεβύτες, ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβόηθη, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ἔ-
 συμμαχῶν ἔθνη εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπήντησαν, ἡγόμενοι δὲ
 ἔῃ σφόδρα τῷ χρεῖν τὴν πείρην οἷοί τε ἔσται ἀγχο-
 λεία

λάξαι θρομόνους δὲ ἔκινδύνε χεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι μὲν οὖν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐδὲ ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς ἐνδεῖς θρομόνοιοι, ἀλλὰ ἔκ πλήθους φθισθέντες, καὶ
 οὐς φυλάξεν ὥσπερ, καὶ πρὸς οὓς κινδυνεύουσι ἑταῖοι, ἔχ-
 ῃ πηλόντες τῶν ἐλαπίων, ἀλλ' ἀποθρόνοντες ὑπερ' ἐπαχθῆς 5
 μάχεσθαι. τότε ὅτε καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῶν μὲν δυσχεραίνοντων, πῶς
 δὲ τῆς πρὸς δουλοκρατίας, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο ὅτι τῆς
 τὴν πόλιν οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρὸς τῶν πυθόνοιοι μὲν τὴν γα-
 ρημυδνίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίοις συμφεράν, ἀπορροῦντες δὲ τοῖς
 φεισθηκόσι πρὸς τῶν, εἰδότες δ' ὅτι εἰ μὲν καὶ γὰρ τοῖς 10
 Βαρβάρους ἀπαντήσονται, ὅτι πλοῦσαιτες χιλίαις ναυσὶ
 ἐρήμην τὴν πόλιν λήψοντες εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς τριῖνας ἐμβήσου-
 νται, ὑπὸ τῆς πεζῆς στρατῶς ἀλώσονται ἀμφοτέρω ὅτι ἔ-
 δυνήσουν, ἀμύνασθαι τε καὶ φυλακὴν ἱκανὴν καταλιπεῖν.
 οὖν δὲ πρὸς κινδύνου, πότερον καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλι- 15
 πεῖν, ἢ μὲν τῶν Βαρβάρων θρομόνοιοις καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας, ἢ θρομόνοιοι κρείττονες εἶναι μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ πειρίας καὶ
 φρονῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἢ μετ' ὀνείδους καὶ πλῆθους δουλείας καὶ
 πατρίδος, ἐξέλπιον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν πόλιν ἢ
 εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρω ἀμα 20
 τὰς δυνάμεις κινδυνεύουσι. ὑπερθέμενοι πᾶσιν καὶ γα-
 ναῖκας καὶ μητέρας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, συνήθριζον καὶ ὅ τῶν
 ἄλλων συμμάχων ναυτικοί. οὐ πολλὰς δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις
 ἦλθε καὶ ἡ πεζὴ στρατὸς, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων,
 ὅ τις

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ.

47

ὁ τις οὐκ ἀνιδῶν ἐφοβήθη; οἷος μέγας καὶ δεινὸς τῆς
 τῇ πάλῃ κίνδυνος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἠγωνί-
 αθη; ποῖαι δὲ γνώμη εἶχεν ἢ οἱ θεόμενοι τὲς οἱ ταῖς
 ναυσὶν ἰακούσας (οὐσὲς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σωτηρίας ἀπίστου,
 5 καὶ πρῶτον (τῶν κινδύνου) ἢ οἱ μέλλοντες ναυμαχήσασθαι
 ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλοσύνης, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πᾶσι οἱ Σαλαμι-
 νίαις; τοσῶτον παύσασθαι ὡς ἐκείνη πλὴν (τῶν) πολεμίων,
 ὥστε ἐλθῶσιν μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν παρόντην καὶ τὴν ἡμέ-
 ραν τὸν αὐτῆς, πρὶν αὐτὸν πρῶτον, μεγίστη δὲ συμφο-
 ρα εἰς ἡμᾶς βαρβάρων εὐτυχισμένη τὴν ὑπεκτινῆσαι
 ἢ πλεονεξία

Ηπει, διὰ $\frac{1}{2}$ ὑπάρχουσαι Σαρμάν, πολλάκις μὲν ἐδ-
 ξώσαντο ἀλλήλους, εὐκότως δὲ σφὰς αὐτὲς ἐλαφύραντα
 εἰδότες μὲν τὰς σφετέραις καὺς ὀλίγας αἰσας, ὁρῶντες δὲ
 15 πολλὰς τὰς τῆς πολεμίας ὀπίστανται δὲ τιμὴν μὴ
 πῶλον ἡμωμῶν, τὴν δὲ χάραν πορδουμῶν, καὶ με-
 τιμὴν τῆς βαρβάρων ἱερῶν δὲ χειρομῶν, ἀπάντων δ' ἐγγὺς
 ὄντων τῶν δεσπῶν ἀκούοντες δ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ συμμιμνήμεναι
 Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βαρβαρικῶν παιᾶν, οὐκ ἐκλευσμένον δ'
 20 ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ κραυγῆς τῆς ἀφροθυμίας, καὶ τῆς θα-
 λάρτης μετῆς τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν συμπεπλόντων, ἐ-
 φίλων καὶ πολεμίων καυαγίων, ἀντιπάλου ὅτι πολλὴν χρέων
 οὕτως τῆς καυμαχίας· δοκοῦντες τότε μὲν νεικηκόμεναι καὶ σ-
 πῶσαι, τότε δ' ἠτιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι ἥκιστα, διὰ τὸ
 παρόντα

παρόντα φόβον πολλά μὲν ᾤκησεν ἰδεῖν ὧν οὐκ εἶδον, πολλά
 δ' ἀκῶσαι ὧν οὐκ ἤκουε. ποῖα δ' ἔχ' ἱκετεύει Θεῶν ἐγέ-
 νοτο, ἢ θυσῶν ἀιαμνήσεις; ἑλέος τε παίδων, καὶ γυναικῶν
 παύσῃ, οἰκτός τε πατέρων καὶ μητέρων; λογισμός τε, εἰ
 δυστυχῆσαι, ἢ μελλόντων ἔσται χακῶν; τίς ἔκ' ἀν' Θεῶν 5
 ἡλέησει αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κινδύνου; ἢ τίς
 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀν' ἐδάκρυεν; ἢ τίς τῆς τόλμης αὐ-
 τὸς ἔκ' ἀν' ἠγάθη; Ἡ πολὺ πλείστον ἐκείνοι χατὰ τὴν
 ἀρετὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δῖνέλχου καὶ οἱ τοῖς βουλευ-
 μασι καὶ οἱ τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις. ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τ' 10
 πόλιν, εἰς τὰς ναῦς δ' ἐσβούτες, τὰς δ' αὐτῶν ψυχὰς
 ὀλίγας οὖσας ἀντιτάξαντες τῷ πλήθει τῷ τ' Ἀσίας. ἐπέ-
 δεῖξον δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ὅτι
 κρείττον μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας κινδυνεύειν,
 ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν βασιλευσμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρας δουλείας. 15
 πλείστα δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα ἐκείνοι ὑπὲρ τ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθε-
 ρίας συνεβόλοντο, στρατηγὸν μὲν, Θεμισκλέα, ἰσχυρότατον
 εἰπεῖν, καὶ γνώαι, καὶ παρᾶ νῆας ἢ πλείους τ' ἄλλων
 ἀπάντων συμμαχῶν, ἄνδρας δ' ἐμπειροτάτους. καίτοι τί-
 νες ἀν' τούτοις τ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἦεν γνώμη, καὶ πλήθος, καὶ 20
 ἀρετὴ; ὥστε διακίως μὲν καὶ ἀναμνηστικῶς ἀρετῆς τῆς
 ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον παρὰ τ' Ἑλλάδος, εὐκότως ἢ τ' εὐτυ-
 χίᾳ ὁμοιοῦσιν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐκτίσαντο. γησίαν δὲ καὶ
 αὐτόχθονα τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάρους τ' αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ
 ἐπεδεί-

ἐπεδείξαντο. ὃν μὲν οὖν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιούτους αὐτὰς πα-
ραστήσαντες, καὶ πολὺ πλείους τῶν κινδύνων μετὰσφόντες, τῇ
ἰδίᾳ ἀρετῇ κοινῶς πῶς ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκτῆ-
σομετο.

- 5 Ὑστερον δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἀφειρημένων τῶν Ἰωμόων, καὶ
ἀγαπήτων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, νομιζόντων δ' ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν
καὶ θάλασσαν κινδύνων, καὶ ἀφαισχυμένων τῆς ἄλλης Ελ-
ληνας φειδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς Βαρβάραις θρονοῦντες, ὀργισθέντες
Ἀθηναῖοι συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς, εἰ ταύτῃ πῶς γνῶμιον
10 ἔξουσιν, φεῖσθαι ἅπασαν τὴν Πελοπόννησον τεύχεσσι φειδε-
σθαι. εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων περὶ δόρυ μὲν τῶν
Βαρβάρων ἔσονται, οὐτ' ἐκείνοις δέησεν χλίων νεῶν, οὐτε
τῆς ἀφελῆσαι τὸ ἐν Ἰωμῶν τεῖχος· ἀκινδύνως γὰρ ἔστι
αὐτῶν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν τῷ Βασιλεῶσι διδασκόμενοι
15 καὶ νομιζόντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀδικατε ποιεῖν καὶ χακῶς
βουλεύεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ δίκαιά τε λείπειν, καὶ τὰ βέλ-
τητα αὐτοῖς παραινέειν, ἐβόηθησαν εἰς Πλαταιάς· ἀποδράν-
των δὲ ὑπὸ ἰσχύϊ τῶν πλείων συμμάχων ἐκ τῶν τά-
ξεων, διὰ τὸ πληθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν
20 καὶ Τριγάται τῆς Βαρβαρίας ἐπείφορον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ
Πλαταιεῖς πάντες τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τοὺς
ἀπογόνους τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὑπομένοντας τὴν δου-
λείαν. ὃν ἐκείνη δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καλλίστην τελευτῶν τοῖς
πεσόντες κινδύνοις ὀπιθέντες, βέβαιον μὲν τὴν ἐλευθε-

ρίαν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κλειφράσσεια· εἰ ἅπασι δὲ ταῖς κινδύναις
δόντες ἔλεγχοι τ' ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ μόνον καὶ μετ' ἐτί-
ρον, καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς Βαρ-
βάρους καὶ πρὸς οὗτοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὑπὸ πάντων ἡξιάσμεθα,
καὶ μὴ ὅν ἐκινδυνεύουσι καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπυλέμεθα, ἡγεμόνες τ'
ἡμέας τ' Ἑλλάδος.

Τέττον δὲ χρόνῳ Ἑλλήνων πολέμου καταστάδες, διὰ
ζῆλον τῶν γενημένων, καὶ φρόνησιν τῶν πεπερασμένων, μέγα
μὲν ἅπαντες φρονήσαντες, μικρῶν δ' ἐκλεχθέντων ἕκαστοι δό-
μῃσι, ναυμαχίας Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Αἰγυπῆσιν, καὶ τὸς Ὀκ-
εῖων συμμάχους θηρόντας, ἐβδομήκοντα τεύχεα αὐτῶν
ἐλάμβανον. παλιορκοῦντο δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Αἰ-
γυπῖοι τε καὶ Αἰγύπιοι, καὶ τ' ἡλικίας ἀπέσπευον ἐν τῷ κατὰ
καὶ εἰ τῶν περὶ τρεπτόμενα, Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ὀαίνοι
σύμμαχοι ἡγέμενοι ἢ εἰς ἔρημον τ' χάρακας ἐμβαλεῖν, ἢ εἰς
Αἰγύπτου ἄξιον ὁ στρατόπεδον, ἐξεληγόντες παιδικαὶ Γερμανίαν
κατέλαβον Ἀθηναῖοι τ', τ' μὲν ἀπόντων, τ' δ' ἐγγὺς ὄν-
των, οὐδὲνα ἐτόλμιοντο μεταπέμψασθαι· τ' δ' αὐτῶν ψυ-
χαῖς περὶσσεύσαντες, καὶ πᾶσι ὁπλόντων καταφρονήσαντες, οἱ
γεναιότεροι καὶ οἱ τ' ἡλικίας οὐκ ὀκνητοί, ἡξίουν αὐτοὶ το
μόνον τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσασθαι· οἱ μὲν, ἐμπειρία τινὲν ἀρε-
τὴν, ὅ τ', φίλοι κακτιμένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν, αὐτοὶ πολλαχῶς
ἀγαθοὶ γενημένοι, οἱ τ', ὀκνητοὶς μετέμνηται· τ' μὲν πρῶ-
τον ἄρχαι ὁπταμένων, πᾶσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁπταμένων

μεινὸν ποιεῖν δυναμένῳ. Μυρωνίδου οὖν στρατηγῶν
 ἀποδητήσαντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγαρῶν, εἰκόσι μαχόμενοι
 ἀπασιν ἢ δυνάμει πῶς ἐκείνων· τοῖς ἥδη ἀπεφυκόσι, καὶ
 τοῖς οὐκ ἔτι δυναμένοις, οὗτοι εἰς τὴν σφετέρῃ ἐμβαλεῖν ἀ-
 5 ξιώσαντες εἰς τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν ἀπαντήσαντες· τρέπαιον δὲ
 ῥησαντες, χαλλίστου μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔργου, αἰχμῶν δὲ τοῖς πο-
 λεμίοις, οἳ μὲν οὐκ ἔτι τοῖς σώμασιν, οἳ δ' οὐκ ἔτι δυνά-
 μενοι· τὴν ψυχῇ ἀμφοτέρω κρείττους ἡνόμενοι, μὲν χαλ-
 λίστης δόξης εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς ἀπαλθόντες, ① μὲν πάλιν ἐπι-
 10 δεύοντο, οἳ δὲ οὐκ ἔτι λοιπῶν ἐβλεπόντο,

Καθ' ἕνα μὲν οὖν ἔραδιον τὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν, κιν-
 διωθέντα ὑφ' ἐνὸς ῥηθῆναι, ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου
 περὶ χρόνον αὐτῶν μῆκος ἡμέρας διλωθῆναι. τίς γὰρ αὖ ἢ χρό-
 νος, ἢ λόγος, ἢ ῥήτωρ ἰκανὸς ἡνοῖτο μύθευ τὴν τὴν ἐνθάδε
 15 κειμένην ἀνδρῶν ἀρετήν; μὲν πλείων γὰρ πόνων, καὶ φανερω-
 τῶν ἀγώνων, καὶ χαλλίστου κινδύνων, ἐλθόντων μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 τὴν Ελλάδα, μεγίστη δ' ἀπέδειξαν ἢ αὐτῶν πατέρων ἐβ-
 δομήσαντα μὲν ἔτη τὴν θαλάττης ἀρξάντες, ἀσασιάτους δὲ
 20 ὡς ἀγρόντες τὴν συμμάχους· καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τὴν πολλοὺς
 δουλεύειν ἀξιώσαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἀπαντα ἀναλ-
 χέοντες· οὗτοι τὴν συμμάχους ἀσθενῶς ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ κείνοις ἰσχυροὺς καθιστάντες καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δυνάμει το-
 σούτων ὑπεδείξαντες, ὥστε ὁ μέγας Βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔτι τὴν
 25 ἄλλοτρίαν ἐπεθύμη, ἀλλ' ἐίδὼς τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι τῶν
 λοιπῶν

λοιπῶν ἐφοβεῖτο. καὶ οὔτε τελεῖς ἐν ἐκείνῳ πρὸ χρόνῳ ἐκ
 τῆς Ασίας ἐκπευθεῖ, οὔτε τύραννος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατέστη,
 οὔτε Ἑλλήνις πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἠνδραποδίσθη.
 τοσαύτῳ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δέῳ ἡ τέτων ἀρετὴ πᾶσι ἀν-
 θρώποις παρῆχεν. ὧν ἕνεκα δὲ μόνους καὶ περσάδας τ' 5
 Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἡγεμόνας τ' πόλεων γίγνεσθαι.

Ἐπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρε-
 τὴν. Σπολοιδμόν. γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, εἴτε ἡγε-
 μόνος κακία, εἴτε Θεῶν ἀφροσύνη, καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης
 μεγίστης θμορδύης καὶ ἡμῶν τοῖς δυστυχήσασιν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλ- 10
 λοις Ἑλλήσιν, ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι πολλὰ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ὅτι ἡ τῆς
 πόλεως δυνάμις τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἦν σωτηρία. ἐτέρων γὰρ
 ἡγεμόνων γενομένων, ἐνίκησαν μὲν ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς Ἑλλήνας
 οἱ περσέες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὅτε ἐμβαίοντες, ἐπλάσθη
 δ' εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην δαλδύουσι τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, τῶν 15
 εἰσβολῶν, οἱ μὲν, μὲν τὴν ἡμετέραν συμφορὰν,
 οἱ δὲ, μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν Βαρβάρων. ὥς ἄξιον ἦν ὅτι
 τῷδε πρὸ τάφῳ τότε κείρασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ πεινῆσαι
 τὰς ἐνθάδε κειμένους, ὥς συλχεταθαιπόμενης τῇ αὐτῶν ἐλευ-
 θερίας τῇ τέτων ἀρετῇ ὥς δυστυχὴς μὲν ἡ Ἑλὰς τοῖς τῶν 20
 ἀνδρῶν ὀρφανῇ θμομένῃ, εὐτυχὴς δ' ὅτι τῆς Ασίας βασιλεὺς,
 ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαβόμενῃ. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τέτων περὶ εἰσὴν
 δουλεία πείσθηκε, πρὸ δ' ἄλλων ἀρξομένων ζῆλος ἐγγίνετο
 τῇ τῇ περσῶν ἀφροσύνῃ.

Ἀλλὰ

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐξήχθη ὑπὸ πάσης ὀλοφύρεσθαι
 ἢ Ἑλλάδι. ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιοι καὶ ἰδία καὶ
 δημοσία μεμνησθῶ, οἱ φεύγοντες τὴν θύλειαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν
 δικαίῳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας στασιάζον-
 5 τες, πόλιν πολεμίας κεκτημένοι, εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κα-
 τήλθον, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου ἀναγκασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς
 φύσεως πεσόντες, καιοῖς κινδύνοις τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν
 γῶν ἀρετὴν μεμνησάμενοι, ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κοινῶς τὴν
 πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτησάμενοι, θάνατον μὲν ἐλευθερίας
 10 αἰετούμενοι, ἢ βίον μετὰ δουλείας· ἐχ' ἥτις ταῖς συμφο-
 ραῖς αἰχμυόμενοι, ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· μᾶλλον βυ-
 ληθέντες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ σποδίσκειν, ἢ ζῆν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν
 οἰκουῦντες, συμμάχους μὲν ὅρκους καὶ σωθῆκας ἔχοντες,
 πολεμίους δὲ τὰς πρότερον ὑπάρχοντάς καὶ τὰς πολίτας
 15 τὰς αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐναντίων φοβη-
 θέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες,
 τρέπαιοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν
 ἀρετῆς ἐγγὺς ὄντας τὰς τῷ μνήματος τὰς Λακεδαιμονίαν
 τάφοις παρέχοντα· καὶ γάρτοι μέγα μὲν ἀντὶ μικρᾶς
 20 ἀπέδειξαν ἢ πόλιν, ὁμονοῦσαν δὲ ἀντὶ στασιάζουσιν ἀπέ-
 φησαν, τείχη ἢ ἀντὶ τῶν καθηρημένων ἀνέστησαν. οἱ ἢ κα-
 τήλθοντες αὐτῶν, ἀδελφὰ τὰ βυλεύματα τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν
 εἰσάδε κειμένων ὀπιθευνοῦντες, οὐκ ὅτι πτωχεῖαν τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδέοντο· καὶ
 ἐπεὶ

ἔπε ἰλατῆος Διυάμφοι, οὐτ' αὐτοὶ πλέον ἔχον δεδομένα,
 τῆς μὴ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις δουλεύειν
 μετῴδωσι, τῆς δ' ἐκείνων δουλείας αὐτοὶ μετέχον οὐκ
 ἠξίωσαν. ἔργον δὲ μεγίστον καὶ καλλίστον ἀπελεγίσαντο,
 ὅτι οὐ κακίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀρετῇ τῇ πολεμίων πρῶτον
 οὐ ἐδυσχρίστον ἡ πόλις. εἰ γὰρ στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
 βία παρῆναι Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν, εἰς
 τὴν αὐτῶν οἰοί τε ἐγίνοντο καταλθεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι ῥαδίως αὖ
 ἁπονοῦντες πολεμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐδύνατο. ἐπεὶ οὖν μὲν οὕτω διὰ
 τὴν ἐν Περσείᾳ κωιδύουσαν ὑπὸ πόλεμον ἀνθρώπων ζήλον
 ταῦτα. Ἀξίον γὰρ καὶ τὴν ξένης τῆς ἐνθάδε καίμενης ἐπαίνε-
 σαι, οἱ γὰρ πλήρη βοηθήσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν σω-
 τηρίας μαχόμενοι, πατρῷα τῇ ἀρετῇ ἠγασάμενοι, τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς τῷ βίον τελευτῇ ἐποιήσαντο· ἀνδ' οἱ ἡ πόλις αὐ-
 τοὺς καὶ ἐπέδωκε καὶ ἔθηκε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔδωκε ἔχον αὐ-
 τοῖς τὴν ἀπαύρα χάριτον τὰς αὐτὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀγαθῇ.

Οἱ γὰρ οὗτοι θαπόμενοι, βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίους ὑπὸ πα-
 λαιοῖσι φίλοις ἀδικουμένοις, καινοῖς σύμμαχοι θηρόμενοι, οὐ γὰρ
 αὐτῇ γνόμενῃ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἔχοντες, (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀγα-
 ρῶν αὐτοῖς ἐφθόνην, ① δὲ ἀδικουμένους αὐτοὺς ἠλέον) καὶ
 οὕτε τῆς πρῆτης ἐχθρας μεταπηδήσαν, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν παρῆ-
 ναι φίλων πρὸς πολλὰς πόλεις, πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φα-
 νερά τῇ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ ἐπεδείχθησαν. ἐτόλμησαν γὰρ, με-
 γάλῃ ποικίλῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῆς αὐτῶν
 σωτηρίας

σωτηρίας κινδυνεύει, ἀλλὰ ὃ ἔσθ' ἡ τῆς πολυμίας
 ἐλευθερίας ἀποθήσκει. τοῖς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίῳ συμμα-
 χοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλευθερίας ἐμάχοντο, νικῶντες μὲν
 ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἔμελλε τῷ αὐτῷ ἡξίουσαν διτυχεύειν, ὅτι βέλαιον
 5 πῶς δουλεύει τοῖς ὡς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ χεπέλιπον. ὁ-
 κείνοις μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ἀφαικιδύοις ὁ βίος οἰκτρὸς ὃ ὅτι αὐ-
 τῷ εὐκτὸς· αὐτοὶ δὲ, καὶ ζῶντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες, ζη-
 λῶνται· παροδύοντες μὲν ὡς τοῖς τῷ παρρησίῳ ἀγαθοῖς,
 ἄνδρες ἢ θύμιοι, πῶς τε οὐκ ἔμελλε δόξαν ἀφαικιδύοντες, ὃ
 10 ἢ αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξαντες. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ χαλῶν
 αἵτιοι γένηνται τῇ ἑαυτῶν παρρησίᾳ, ἐκπύρηνται δὲ τὰ
 ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων διτυχεύοντες, πόρρω δ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν πέλειμον
 χετέονται. ἐπιβόηται ἢ ἢ βίον ἄσπερ καὶ τὸς ἀγαθὸς
 ἀποθήσκει, τῇ μὲν παρρησίᾳ καὶ προφῶν ἀποδόντες, τοῖς
 15 ἢ ὀρέσασιν λύπας χετέονται. ὥς ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τύ-
 πος πιδῶν, καὶ σφὰς αὐτὸς ἀποφύεσθαι, ὃ τὸς παρρη-
 σίᾳ, αὐτῶν ἐλπίς ὃ ὀκείνους βίου. τίς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ
 ἡδονῇ χετέονται, τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν παρρησίᾳ, οἱ πάντες
 πρὸς ἐλπίδος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡγούμενοι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπετέονται
 20 βίῳ, χετέας ἢ χετέας ἐπείκειν; ὁρατοὺς ἢ τὸς αὐτῶν
 παῖδας ἀπέλιπον; ἐρήμοις δ' ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πατέρας καὶ
 μητέρας χετέονται; Πολλοὶ ἢ ὃ δεινὸν ὑπαρχόντων,
 τὸς μὲν παῖδας αὐτῶν ζηλοῦν, ὅτι κατέροις, ὃ ὥς εἰδ-
 ναι οἷον πατέρας ἐπείκειν· ἔξ ὧν δ' αὐτοὶ γένηται οἰ-
 κτρῶν,

τεύρω, ὅτι περὶ βούτερον ἢ ὅτε ἐπιλαθέσθαι τὴν δυστυχίαν τὴν
 ἑαυτῶν. τί γὰρ ἀνὰ τέτων ἀνιερῶτερον θύοιτο, ἢ τεκεῖν μὲν
 καὶ θρέψαι καὶ θάψαι τὴν αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῆρᾳ ἀδυνα-
 τὴς μὲν εἶ) τῇ σῶματι, παστῶν δ' ἀπεστερημένους τὴν ἐλπίδων,
 ἀφίλους καὶ ἀπόρους γενέσθαι; ὥστε τὴν αὐτῶν ἀφῆτε-
 ρον ζῆλον, καὶ νῦν ἐλεῖν; ποθενίοντερον δ' αὐτοῖς εἶ)
 τὴν θάνατον ἢ βίον; ὅσα γὰρ ἀνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν, ποσὺν
 τοῖς χαλεπομένοις ὁ πένθος μείζον. πῶς δ' αὐτὴν χρὴ
 λῆξαι τὴν λύπης; πότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει συμφορῆς;
 ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν εἰκὸς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μεμνησθαι. ἀλλ' ἵο
 ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς; ἀλλ' ἵκανον λυπῆσαι, τὴν
 μὲν σφετέρων τέκνων τετελευτηκότων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἀπο-
 λαύοντων τὴν τέτων ἀρετῆς. ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις;
 ὅταν ὁρῶσι τὴν μὲν ἀφῆτερον ὄντας φίλους, φέροντας τὴν
 αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθρούς, μέγα φρονιῶντας ὅτι
 ταῖς δυστυχίαις ταῖς τέτων; μόνον δ' ἀνὰ μοι δοκῶμεν ταύ-
 τῃ τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμένοις ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, εἰ τὴν μὲν
 τοκέας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ὥστε ἐκεῖνοι φεῖ πολλοὺς ποιοίμε-
 θα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὅπως ἀσπαζοίμεθα ὥστε αὐτοὶ πα-
 τέρους ὄντες ταῖς τῇ γυναιξὶν εἰ τοιούτους βοηθὸς ἡμᾶς αὐ-
 τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς οἰοῖται ἐκεῖνοι ζῶντες ἦσαν. πῶς γὰρ
 ἀνὰ εἰκότως μᾶλλον τιμῶμεν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων; πῶς
 δ' ἀνὰ τὴν ζώντων διχαίοντερον φεῖ πολλοὺς ποιοίμεθα, ἢ τὴν
 τέτοις ἀποσπῶμεν; οἱ δὲ μὲν τέτων ἀρετῆς ὁ ἴσθι τοῖς
 ἄλλοις

ἄλλοις ἀπέλευθ', ἀποθανόντων δὲ μόνοι γησιώως τῆς δυσ-
 χίας μετέχουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι δὴ τοιαῦτα ὀλο-
 φύραζ. ἔ γὰρ ἐλατθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς ὅτις θνητοί· ὥστ'
 τί δὲ, ἂν πάλαι περσεδοκῶμεν πείσασθαι, ὑπὲρ τούτων
 5 νῦν ἀχθεσθαι; ἢ λίαν οὕτω βαρέως φέρειν ὅππῃ ταῖς τῆς
 φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ὅππισταμύρους ὅτι ὁ θάνατος κοινὸς καὶ
 τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις; οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ποτηρὰν
 ὑποφορᾷ, οὔτε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' ἴσους ἑαυτὸν
 πᾶσι παύσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἶόν τε ἢ τοῖς τὴν εἰς τὴν πο-
 10 λέμῳ κινδυνώεις ἀφελουῖσιν ἀθανάτους εἶναι τὸν λοιπὸν
 χρόνον, ἄξιον ἢ τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ ἅπαντα χρόνον περθεῖν τῆς
 πενιέωτας. νῦν δὲ ἢτε φύσις καὶ νότον ἢ τῶν καὶ γήρας,
 ὅ, τε δαίμων ὁ πῶν ἡμετέραν μοῖραν εἰληχρὸς ἀπαραίτη-
 τος. ὥστ' ἀπορρήκῃ τέτῳς εὐδαιμονεστάτῳς ἡγεῖσθαι, οἵπνης
 15 ὑπὲρ μεγίστων καὶ χαλλίστων κινδυνωδύσθοντες, οὕτως τὸν
 βίον ἐπιλεύθησαν· οὐκ ὅππισταμύσαντες πρὸς αὐτῶν τῇ τύ-
 χῃ, οὐδὲ ἀναμείνοντες τὸ αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκ-
 λεξάμενοι τὸν κάλλιστον. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ ἀγήραδοι μὲν αὐτῶν
 αἱ μῆμη, ζηλωταὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ
 20 τιμαί· οἱ περθεῖν δὲ μὲν ἀφ' τὴν φύσιν ὥς θνητοί, ὑμῶνται
 δὲ ὥς ἀθάνατοι ἀφ' τὴν ἀρετὴν. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ θάπτονται δι-
 μυσία καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας
 καὶ πλούτου, ὥς ἀξίους ὄντας τῆς εἰς τὴν πολέμῳ πλε-
 λευτηκότητος ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθροάτῳς τιμᾶ-
 σθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζω ὅς θανάτου καὶ

58 ΛΥΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦ.

ζηλω, καὶ μόνοις τέτοις ἀνθρώποις οἶμα κρῦπτον ὅτι γενέσθαι, οἵτινες ἐπειδὴ θνητοὺς σωματάων ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἔχοντες ἀρετῇ αὐτῶν κατέλιπον. ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔσσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύοντας τὸ πάτριον νόμον, ὁλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς θαπτομένους.

ΥΠΕΡΙΔΟΥ τὸ σωζόμενον.

— Χαλεπὸν μὲν ἴσως ὅτι τὰς ἐν τοῖς τοῖοις ἄνθρωποις πάσης κοίτης ἀποφυγεῖν. τὰ γὰρ πένθη οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε νόμῳ κοιμίζεται. ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐκαστον καὶ φιλία πρὸς τὸ τελευτήσαντα ὀρισμὸν ἔχει τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι. ὅμως δὲ χρὴ τοῖς θάπτειν, καὶ τῆς λύπης πρᾶπτεν εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ μεμνησθαι μὴ μόνοι τῷ θανάτῳ τὸ τετελευτηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἧς καταλελοίπασιν. καὶ γὰρ θνήσκοντες ἀξία πεπόνθασι, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλῳ πεποιήκασι. εἰ δὲ γήρῳσι θνητοὺς μὴ μετέχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαι ἀθάνατον εὐλήφασιν, εὐδαίμονές τε γηρόναι καὶ πόρτα. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν παῖδες τελευτήκασι, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἔπαυσα παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀθάνατοι ἴσονται. ὅσοι δὲ παῖδας καταλελοίπασιν, ἡ τῆς πατρὸς ἐννοία ὁπίσσω αὐτοῖς τὸ παῖδων καθεστῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τέτοις, εἰ μὲν ὅτι τὸ σπῆμα-20 νεῖν ὁμοιον τῷ μὴ θνῆσθαι, ἀπληλαβόμενοι εἰς νότον καὶ λύπης, ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρᾶπτοντων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπου βίον. εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἰσθητὴς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα, ὥστερ' ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἴη τοὺς ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν καταλυομένοις βοηθήσαντας πλείους εὐδαιμονίας ὑπὸ τῷ δαίμονι τυχεῖν.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

περὶ τῶν Στρατηγῶν

ἀπολομύων. ΑΝΑΒ. β'.

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ δὲ στρατηγὶ αὐτὰ ληφόντες, ἀνέχθησαν
ὡς βασιλέα, καὶ ἀπολυμύχους τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπαλύττησαν
εἰς μὴν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχον, ὁμολογημύχους ὅτι πάντων τ'
ἐμπείρους αὐτῷ ἔχοντες, δόξας ἡμέτερον εἶναι πολεμικὸς καὶ
5 φιλοπόλεμος ἔχοντας. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς
Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τὰς Ἀθηναίους, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ δ' εὐ-
ρήνῃ ἡμέρᾳ, πείσας τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσιν ὡς οἱ Θράκες ἀδικοῦσι
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ἀγροπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο πρὸς τῶν
Εφόρων, ἔξελθ' ὡς πολέμησεν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρόνησος καὶ
10 Παιονίου Θραξίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μαζανόντες πως (Α) Εφορεῖ,
ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ἀποσρέφει αὐτὸν ἐπειρώωντο ἔξ Ἰοθιμῶ,
ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἐπὶ πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὥχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλη-
σποντον. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ
τελῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἡδὴ δὲ φυγὰς ὦν ἔρχετο πρὸς Κύ-
15 ρον καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κύρον, ἀλλαχθ' ἵσταται.
Δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ Κύρῳ μυρίας δαρεκαίους· ὁ δὲ λα-
βὼν, οὐκ ὅτι ῥαθυμίας ἐτρέπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν
χρημάτων συλλέξας φράτευμα, ἐπολέμη τοῖς Θραξίν· καὶ
μάχη τε οὐκ ἔσχε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔφερε, καὶ ἦγεν αὐτὰς· καὶ
πολεμῶν

πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέχρ' οὗ Κῦρος ἐδέχθη τὸ στρατεύ-
ματός· τότε δ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πολεμήσαν.

Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμῳ δοκῇ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις,
ἔξον μὲν εἰρήνῃ ἔχειν ἀνὰ αἰχμῆς καὶ βλάβης, αἰρεῖται
πολεμεῖν· ἔξον δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, βύλε' ὅτι ποιεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν·⁵
ἔξον δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα
ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Εκείνος δὲ, ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ, ἢ εἰς ἄλ-
λῳ πῖα ἡδονῇ, ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν
φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτὴν ταύτην εἶναι ἐδόκει, ὅτι
φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ὅτι τὰς πο-¹⁰
λεμίοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς ὁ παρὲντες
πανταχῶς πάντες ὁμολόγησαν. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δὲ ἐλέγγο
εἶναι, ὡς διωατόν, ἐκ τῶν τοῖσδε τρεῶν, οἷον καὶ ἐκείνος
εἶχεν· ἰσχυρὸς μὲν γὰρ, ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος, φροντίζειν ἦν, ὅπως
ἔξῃ ἢ στρατιὰ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀπιτηδεύα, καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ταῦ-¹⁵
τα· ἰσχυρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποῖσθαι τοῖς πρῶτον, ὡς οὐκ ἀπι-
στεόν εἴη Κλεάρχῳ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐκ τῶν χαλεπῶν εἶναι.
Καὶ γὰρ ὄραν φυγῆς ἦν, καὶ τῇ φωτὶ τραχύς· ἐκόλαζε τε
αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐτίθει, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς μεταμέλειν ἐοῖ
ὅτε. καὶ γνώμη δὲ ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστον γὰρ στρατεύματος²⁰
οὐδὲν ἡγήτο ὄφελος εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν,
ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸ ἀρχόντα ἢ τὰς
πολεμίοις, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλαχὰς φυλάξαι, ἢ φίλων ἀφεί-
ξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπερφασίως ἵστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Εἰ
μὲν

μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤησαν αὐτῷ ἀκύνει σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ
 ἄλλον ἤρυντο ① στρατιῶται. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ τυτῶν τότε φαι-
 δρῇ αὐτῷ οὐ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἔφαζ' φαίνασθαι, καὶ ὁ χαλε-
 πότης, ἐρρωμένον περὶ οὗτον πολέμους ἐδόχε εἶναι· ὥστε σα-
 5 πύλειον καὶ ἐκείνῳ χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο. Οὔτε δ' ἔξω ἔδει δεινὸν
 γένοιτο, καὶ ἐξείη περὶ ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπένειμι, πολ-
 λοὶ αὐτῷ ἀπέλειπον· ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ οὐκ εἶχε, ἀλλὰ
 αἰὲν χαλεπὸς καὶ ὁμῶς ἦν· ὥστε δέχεσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν ②
 στρατιῶται, ὡς περὶ παῖδες περὶ διδάσκαλον· καὶ γὰρ οὖν
 10 φιλίας μὲν καὶ εὐνοίας ἐπομνησίου οὐδέποτε εἶχε· οἵτινες δὲ καὶ
 ὑπὸ πίστεως περὶ αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ δεῖνῳ, καὶ ἄλλῃ τι
 ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι πείσασθαι αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις
 ἐχρῆτο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν οὖν αὐτῷ τοὺς πο-
 λεμίας, μεγάλα ἤδη ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιῶντα εἶναι τοὺς
 15 οὖν αὐτῷ στρατιῶται· τό, τι γὰρ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους
 παρὰ αὐτοὺς ἔχει παρῆν, καὶ τὸ τῇ παρ' ἐκείνῳ τιμωρίας
 φοβεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιείκῃ. Τοῦτο δὲ μὲν δὴ ἀρ-
 χῶν οὖν ἀρχεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ ἄλλων καὶ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγχεσθαι.
 Ἦν γὰρ, ὅτε ἐπελθόντα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.
 20 Πρόξενος γὰρ ὁ Βοιωτὸς, εὐχὴς μὲν μετὰ αὐτὸν ὄν, ἐπεθύμει
 θύεσθαι αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα περὶ αὐτοὺς ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν
 τῶν τῶν ἐπιθυμίας ἔδωκε Γοργίᾳ ἀργύριον πρὸς Λεστίην.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελθόντες ἐκείνῳ, ἰσχυρῶς ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἀρ-
 χῶν, καὶ φίλος ὡς τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς, μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἤλ-

θεὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ὥστε κτήσασθαι
 ὅσα τέκων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ δύναμις μεγάλη, καὶ χρήματα
 πολλὰ· τέκων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν, σφόδρα ἐνδύλοι αὐτῷ καὶ τῷτο
 εἶχεν, ὅτι τέκων ἕδεν αἱ γέλοι κλεῖσθαι μὲν ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ
 σὺν καὶ δικαίῳ καὶ χαλῶ ὥστε δεῖν τέκων τυγχάνειν, ἀνδρῶν
 δὲ τέκων μὴ. Ἀρχεν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἰσχυρὸς ἦν·
 οὐ μόνον οὐδ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον
 ἰσχυρὸς ἐμποιοῦσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡγμύετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρα-
 τώτας, ἢ ὁ ἀρχόμενος ἐκείνους· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ
 φοβερὸς ὁ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἢ ὁ στρατῶ- 10
 ταί τὸ ἀπεινῆν ἐκείνῳ. Ὡς, το γὰρ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς ὁ ἀρχαῖον
 εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ μὲν χαλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαίνεω, τὸν γὰρ ἀδικούντα
 μὴ ἐπαίνεω. Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν χαλῶ καὶ ἀγαθῶν τῶν
 σπουδόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἀδικοὶ ἐπεβούλευον, ὡς εὐμα-
 χεύεσθαι ὄντι. Ὅτε γὰρ ἀπέθνησκεν, ἦν ἐπὶ ὡς τεύχεοντα. 15

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θεπάλος δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλείους
 ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν γὰρ ἀρχεν, ὅπως πλείους λαμβάνοι· ἐπι-
 θυμῶν γὰρ πικρῶσαι, ἵνα πλείους κερδαῖνοι· φίλος τ' ἐβόλετο
 εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην.
 Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ χειρουργεῖσθαι ὡς ἐπιθυμοῖν, σπουτοματώτερον 20
 ἔδεν ὥς, το εἶναι ἀρκεῖν τε, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἔξα-
 παταῖν· τὸ δὲ ἀπλῆν τε καὶ ἀληθές, τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡλιθίον
 εἶναι. Στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα· ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη
 φίλον εἶναι, τούτῳ ἐνδύλοι ἦν ἐπιβουλεύων. Καὶ πο-
 λεμίου

λεμίῳ μὲν ᾧδεῖος κατεγύα, τῷ δὲ σιυόται πάντων
 ὡς χαλαγῶν αἰεὶ διελέγτα. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῷ πολε-
 μίῳ κτήμασι οὐκ ἐπέβλεπε (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾧδεῖος ἵνα
 τὰ τῷ φυλακισμένῳ λαμβάνει) τὰ δὲ τῷ φίλῳ μόνος ᾧδεῖος
 5 εἰδέναι ὅτι ῥᾶστον ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνει. Καὶ ὅσους μὲν ῥᾶ-
 νετο ὁπτόρους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εἰ ἀπλισμένοις ἐφοβέτο
 τοῖς δ' ὅσοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκούσιν ὡς ἀνάνδρῳ ἐπεφᾶτο
 χρῆσθαι. Ὡστερ δὲ τις ἀγάλλει ὅτι θεοσεβεία, καὶ ἀλη-
 θεία, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, αὐτῷ καὶ Μένων ἡγάλλετο τῷ ἔξαπα-
 10 τῶν δύναντο, τῷ πλάσαντο ψευδῇ, τῷ φίλους ἀφρα-
 γῶν τῷ δὲ μὴ σωφρονῶν, ἀπαίδευτον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. Καὶ
 πρὸ οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει φρενέειν φιλία, ἀφράδων τοὺς
 φρενέας, τότε ᾧδεῖος δεινὴ κτήσαντο. Τὸ δὲ σιυόμενος
 τὸς στρατιώταις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὡς εἰ σιυαδικῶν αὐτοῖς ἐμ-
 15 χράτο. Τιμᾶτο δὲ καὶ στρατιώταις ἡξίον, ὁπιδεονύ-
 μῳ ὅτι πλεῖστα διύαιτο καὶ ἐδέλοι ἀνὰ ἀδικεῖν. Εὐερ-
 γάσιαι δὲ κατέλεγε, ὅποτε πῖς αὐτῷ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι χρά-
 μος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφῶν
 ἔξεσι πρὸ αὐτῷ ψεύδεσσι. ἀ δὲ σιυότες ἴσοι, τὰ δὲ ὅτι.
 20 Παρὰ Λεωτίππῳ μὲν, ἐπὶ ὥραιος ὢν, στρατηγῶν διεπρά-
 ξατο τῶν ξένων. Λεωτίππῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μερακίοις
 χαλεκῶς ἤδετο, οἰκείωτος ἔτι ὥραιος ὢν ἐμμετο. αὐτὸς δὲ
 παιδικῶς εἶχε Θαρύππῳ, ἀγῶνι ὢν μεμῶντα. Αποθη-
 σκόσται δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστράτευσαι ὅτι βασιλέα σὺν
 Κύρῳ,

64 ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

Κύρω, τὰ αὐτὰ πεποικώς οὐκ ἀπέθανε· μὲν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θάνατοι στρατηῶν, τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανε, ἔχ' ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ σποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς· (ὥσπερ κάλλιστος θανάτων ἐδόκει εἶναι) ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ὁ αὐτὸν, ὡς ποιοῦντες, λέγεται τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

Αἰτίας ἣ ὁ Ἀρχαῖς, καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαῖος καὶ τότε ἀπεθανέντι· τῶν δὲ ὁδοὶς ἔθ' ὥς οὐ πολέμῳ κακῶν κατεγέλα, οὐτ' ἐς φιλίαν αὐτὸς ἐμέμφετο. Ἡσπντε ἄμφω ἀμφὶ πεπάρκοντα ἔτη σπὸ θμείας.

M. T. C I C E R O N I S

*Sententiæ de iis honore augendis, qui
periculum vitæ adierunt Reipub. causa.*

DE SER. SULPICIO *ornando*. PHILIPP. IX.

VELLEM, dii immortales fecissent, Patres conscripti, ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus, quam mortuo honores quæreremus. —

Si Ser. Sulpicio casus mortem attulisset, dole-
5 rem quidem tanto reip. vulnere: mortem vero
ejus non monumentis, sed luctu publico esse ho-
norandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat,
quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? Secum enim
ille mortem extulit: quam, si nobiscum reman-
10 sisset, sua cura, optimi filii, fidelissimæque con-
jugis diligentia vitare potuisset. — Reddite igi-
tur, P. C. ei vitam, cui ademistis. Vita enim
mortuorum in memoria vivorum est posita. Per-
ficite, ut is, quem vos ad mortem inscii misistis,
15 immortalitatem habeat a vobis. — Grati sumus
in ejus morte decoranda, cui nullam jam aliam
gratiam referre possumus. — Quas ob res ita
censeo; CUM Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia, Ru-
fus difficillimo Reipublicæ tempore, gravi, pericu-
20 losoque morbo affectus, auctoritatem Senatus,
salutemque Reipublicæ vitæ suæ præposuerit, con-

traque vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut
 in castra Antonii, quo Senatus eum miserat, per-
 veniret : Isque, cum jam prope castra venisset, vi
 morbi oppressus, vitam amiserit in maximo Rei-
 publicæ munere : ejusque mors consentanea vitæ ⁵
 fuerit, sanctissime, honestissimeque ætæ, in qua
 sæpe magno usui Reipublicæ Ser. Sulpicius &
 privatus, & in magistratibus fuerit : Cum talis
 vir ob Rempublicam in legatione mortem obi-
 rit ; Senatui placere, Ser. Sulpicio statuam pe- ¹⁰
 destrem æneam in Rostris ex hujus ordinis senten-
 tia statui ; circumque eam statuam locum ludis,
 gladiatoribusque, liberos posterosque ejus quo-
 quoversus pedes quinque, habere ; quod is ob
 Rempublicam mortem obierit ; eamque causam ¹⁵
 in basi inscribi : utique C. Pansa, A. Hirtius,
 Consules, alter ambove, si eis videatur, Quæsto-
 ribus urbanis imperent, ut eam basim, statuam-
 que faciendam, & in Rostris statuendam locent :
 quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemp- ²⁰
 tori solvendam, attribuendamque curent. Cum-
 que antea Senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum
 fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit, pla-
 cere, cum quam amplissime supremo die suo ef-
 ferri. Et, cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia,
 Rufus, ita de Republica meritus sit, ut his orna- ²⁵
 mentis decorari debeat, Senatum censere, atque
 e Republica existimare, Ædiles curules edictum,
 quod de funeribus habeant, Ser. Sulpicii Q. F.
 Lemonia,

Lemonis, Ruffi, funeri remittere : utique locum sepulcro in campo Esquilino Pansa Consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes triginta quoquoque-
sus adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur. Quod
sepulcrum, ipsius, liberorum, posterorumque ejus
esset : uti quod optimo jure publice sepulcrum
datum esset.

De cæsis ad Mutinam. PHIL. XIV.

IS demum est mea quidem sententiâ justus
10 triumphus ac verus ; cum bene de Republicâ
meritis testimonium à consensu civitatîs datur.

---CUM Supplicationes justissimas ex iis literis,
quæ recitatæ sunt, decernere debeamus, Servili-
usque decreverit : augebo omnino numerum die-
15 rum, præsertim cum non uni, sed communiter
tribus ducibus sint decernendæ. Sed hoc pri-
mum faciam, ut Imperatores appellem eos, quo-
rum virtute, consilio, felicitate, maximis pericu-
lis servitutis atque interitûs liberati sumus. —
20 *Quin* hoc ipso nomine & eos, qui jam devicti
sunt, & eos qui supersunt, Hostes judico, cum
victores appello Imperatores. Quomodo enim po-
tius Pansam appellem ? etsi habet honoris no-
men amplissimi ? Quo Hirtium ? est ille qui-
25 dem consul : sed alterum nomen beneficii est po-
puli Romani ; alterum, virtutis atque victoriæ.
Quid ?

Quid? Cæsarem, Deorum beneficio reipublicæ procreatum, dubitemne appellare Imperatorem? Qui primus Antonii immanem & fœdam crudelitatem, non solum à jugulis nostris, sed etiam à membris & visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei quot & quantæ virtutes, Dii immortales, fuerunt!

Princeps enim omnium Pansa prælii faciendi, & cum Antonio configendi fuit, dignus Imperator legione Martia, digna legio Imperatore: ¹⁰ cuius si acerrimum impetum cohibere Pansa potuisset, uno prælio confecta res esset. Sed cum libertatis avida legio effrænatus in aciem hostium irrupisset, ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus è ¹⁵ prælio, reipublicæ vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non solum Imperatorem, sed etiam clarissimum Imperatorem judico: qui cum aut morte, aut victoria se satisfacturum reipublicæ spon-

disset; alterum fecit, alterius Dii immortales omen ²⁰ avertant!

Quid dicam de Hirtio? qui, re audita, è castris duas legiones eduxit incredibili studio atque virtute: Quartam illam, quæ, relicto Antonio, se olim cum Martia legione conjunxit, & Septi- ²⁵ mam, quæ constituta ex veteranis docuit illo prælio, militibus iis, qui Cæsaris beneficia servassent, senatus populique Romani carum nomen esse. His viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius ipse

ipse, aquilam Quartæ legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii legionibus, equitatuque confligit, hostesque nefarios, huic Jovi maximo, cæterisque Deorum immortalium templis, urbis tectis, libertati populi Romani, nostræ vitæ sanguinique imminentes prostravit, fudit, occidit; ut cum admodum paucis, nocte tectus, metu perterritus, princeps latronum duxque fugerit. O
10 solem ipsum beatissimum, qui antequam se abderet, stratis cadaveribus parricidarum, cum paucis fugientem vidit Antonium!

An vero quisquam dubitabit appellare Cæsarem Imperatorem? Ætas ejus certe ab hac sententia
15 neminem deterrebit, quandoquidem virtute superavit ætatem. Ac mihi semper eo majora beneficia C. Cæsaris visa sunt, quo minus erant ab ætate illa postulanda: cui cum Imperium, eodem tempore, etiam spem nominis ejus deferebamus:
20 quod, cum est secutus auctoritatem nostri decreti, rebus gestis suis comprobavit. Hic ergo adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ita
25 trium Imperatorum virtute, consilio, felicitate, uno die locis pluribus respublica est conservata. Decerno igitur eorum trium nomine quinquaginta dierum Supplicationes: causas, ut honorificentissimis

centissimis verbis consequi posero, complectar sententia.

Est autem fidei, pietatisque nostræ, declarare fortissimis militibus, quam memores simus, quamque grati. Quamobrem promissa nostra, atque ea, quæ legionibus, bello confecto, tributuros nos spopondimus, hodierno senatus-consulto renovanda censeo. Æquum est enim militum, talium præsertim, honorem conjungi.

Atque utinam, Patres conscripti, civibus omnibus solvere nobis præmia liceret! Quanquam nos ea, quæ promissimus, studiosè cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem restat, ut spero, victoribus, quibus senatus fides præstatur: quam quidem cum difficillimo reipublicæ tempore secuti sunt, eos nunquam oportebit consilii sui penitere. Sed facile est bene agere cum iis, à quibus etiam tacentibus flagitari videmur. Illud admirabilius & majus, maximeque proprium senatus sapientis est, grata eorum virtutem memoria prosequi, qui pro patria vitam profuderunt. Quorum de honore utinam mihi plura in mentem venirent! duo certe non præteribo, quæ maxime occurrunt: quorum alterum pertinet ad virorum fortissimorum gloriam sempiternam; alterum ad leniendum moerorem & luctum proximorum.

Placet igitur mihi, Patres conscripti, legionis Martiæ militibus, & eis, qui una pugnantes occiderunt, monumentum fieri quàm amplissimum.

Magna

Magna atque incredibilia sunt in rempublicam
hujus mērita legionis. Hæc se prima latrocinio
abrupit Antonii : hæc tenuit Albam : hæc se ad
Cæsarem contulit : hanc imitata Quarta legio pa-
5 reñ virtutis gloriam consecuta est. Quarta vic-
trix desiderat neminem. Ex Martia nonnulli in
ipsa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors ! quæ
naturæ debita, pro patria est potissimum reddita.

Vos vero patriæ natos judico, quorum etiam
10 nomen à Marte est : ut idem Deus urbem hanc
gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga,
fœda mors est ; in victoria, gloriosa. Etenim Mars
ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet.
Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad infe-
15 ros pœnas parricidii luent. Vos vero, qui extre-
mum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis
sedem & locum consecuti. Brevis à natura nobis
vita data est : at memoria bene redditæ vitæ sem-
piterna. Quæ si non esset longior, quam hæc
20 vita ; quis esset tam amens, qui maximis labori-
bus & periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque
contenderet ?

Actum igitur præclare vobiscum, fortissimi
dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites,
25 quod vestra virtus nec oblivione eorum, qui nunc
sunt, nec reticentia posterorum insepulta esse po-
terit ; cum vobis immortale monumentum suis
pene manibus senatus populusque Romanus ex-
traxerit. Multi sæpe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis,
Italicis

Italicis bellis clari & magni fuerunt : nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum est. Atque utinam majora possemus, quandoquidem à vobis maxima accepimus ! Vos ab urbe furem Antonium avertistis : vos redire molientem repulistis. 5 Erit igitur extructa moles opere magnifico, incissæque literæ divinæ virtutis testes sempiternæ : nunquam de vobis, eorum, qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum, aut audient, gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali conditione vitæ 10 immortalitatem estis consecuti.

Sed quoniam, Patres conscripti, gloriæ munus optimis, & fortissimis civibus monumenti honore persolvitur, consolemur eorum proximos, quibus optima est hæc quidem consolatio : parentibus, 15 quòd tanta reipublicæ præsidia genuerunt : liberis, quòd habebunt domestica exempla virtutis : conjugibus, quòd iis viris carebunt, quos laudare quàm lugere præstabit : fratribus, quòd in se, ut corporum, sic virtutum similitudinem esse confident. 20 Atque utinam his omnibus abstergere fletum sententiis nostris, consultisque possemus ; vel aliqua talis his adhiberi publice posset oratio, qua deponerent mœrorem atque luctum, gauderentque potius, cum multa et varia impenderent hominibus genera mortis, id genus, quod esset pulcherrimum, suis obtigisse, eosque nec inhumatos esse, nec desertos : (quod tamen ipsum pro patria non miserandum putatur :) nec dispersis bustis humili

mili sepultura crematos, sed coniectos publicis operibus, atque muneribus, eaque extruptione, quæ sit ad memoriam æternitatis ARA VIRTUTIS.

5 Quamobrem maximum quidem solatium erit propinquorum, eodem monumento declarari; & virtutem suorum & pietatem, & senatûs fidem, & crudelissimi memoriam belli; in quo, nisi tanta militum virtus extitisset, parricidio M. Antonii
10 nomen populi Romani occidisset. Atque etiam censeo, Patres conscripti, quæ præmia militibus promissimus nos, republica recuperata, tributuros, ea vivis, victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, persolvenda: qui autem ex iis, quibus illa
15 promissa sunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.

Sed ut aliquando sententia complectar, ita censeo: Cum C. Panfa, cos. Imperator, initium
20 cum hostibus confligendi fecerit, quo prælio legio Martia admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit; quod idem legiones tironum fecerint; ipseque C. Panfa cos. Imperator, cum inter media hostium tela versaretur, vulnera acceperit: Cumque A. Hirtius
25 cos. Imperator, prælio audito, & cognito, fortissimo præstantissimoque animo exercitum castris eduxerit, impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque hostium fecerit, ejusque copias occisione

occiderit, suo exercitu ita incolumi, ut ne unum
quidem militem desideraverit: Cumque C. Cæ-
sar, Imperator, consilio, diligentiaque sua castra
feliciter defenderit, copiasque hostium, quæ ad
castra accesserant, profligarit, occiderit: ob eas
res Senatū existimare, & judicare eorum trium
Imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate,
constantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate, popu-
lū Romanū fœdissima crudelissimaque servi-
tute liberatum. Cumque Rempublicam, urbem, 10
templa Deorum immortalium, bona, fortunaſque
omnium, liberosque conſervarint dimicatione, &
periculo vitæ suæ: uti ob eas res bene, fortiter,
feliciterque gestas, C. Panſa, A. Hirtius, Conſu-
les, Imperatores, alter ambove, aut, ſi aberunt, 15
M. Cornutus, Prætor urbanus, Supplicationes per
dies quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria conſtituat.
Cumque virtus legionum digna clariffimis Impe-
ratoribus extiterit: Senatū, quæ ſit antea pol-
licitus legionibus, exercitibusque noſtris, ea ſum- 20
mo ſtudio, republica recuperata, perſoluturum.
Cumque legio Martia princeps cum hoſtibus con-
fixerit, atque ita cum majore numero hoſtium
contenderit, ut plurimos cæderent, caperent non-
nullos: Cumque ſine ulla retractatione pro patria 25
vitam profuderint: Cumque ſimili virtute reli-
quarum legionum milites pro ſalute & libertate
populi Romani mortem oppetiverint: Senatui
placere, ut C. Panſa, A. Hirtius, Conſules, Im-
peratores,

peratores, alter ambove, si his videatur, iis qui sanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortunisque populi Romani, pro urbe, templisque Deorum immortalium profudissent, monumentum quàm amplissimum locandum, faciendum curent : Quæstores urbis ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere jubeant ; ut extet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam, ad scelus crudelissimorum hostium, militumque divinam virtutem : utque, quæ præmia Senatus militibus ante constituit, ea solvantur eorum, qui hoc bello pro patria occiderunt, parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus : eaque fratribus tribuantur, quæ militibus ipsis tribui oporteret, si illi vixissent, qui morte vicerunt.

I N D E X.

Α.

ΑΒΙΩΤΟΣ 31. 4. *pro ἀβίωτος* vita non vitalia, vita acerba et misera, seu ἀβίωτος ἀνὰ non esse vivendum.

Αγαθὰ 9. 3. commoda. 55. 8. virtutes.

Αγαμέμνων 10. 10. oblecto me.

Αγαύωμαι 35. 24. — 48. 8. de-miror, laudo, veneror.

Αγαπᾶν 22. 1. — 43. 4. 49. 6. contentus sum.

Αγαπητός 29. 22. cupidè, libenter.

Αγὼν καὶ φέρων 59. 19. populari. ἄγων proprie de illà dicitur prædà, quæ potest agi et *incedere*, seu de rebus animatis; φέρων et *ferre* de inanimatis.

Αγὼν ἡσυχίας 22. 2. conquiesco. 39. 19. quiesco, *tumultuari desinens et nihil bellicum attentans aut moliens*.

Αγνωσία 19. 7. ignobilitas.

Αγνος 17. 17. infœcundus.

Αγωνίζομαι 14. 10. me exerceo. 47. 2. periclitor, discrimen adeo.

Αδύνα 41. 20. securitas.

Αδύνατος *adj.* 53. 22. similis, congruens.

Αδύς 6. 24. absque metu.

Αδύλος γένεσις 34. 20. occultari.

Αδυνά ἢ μὴ ἀδυνά γε. 15. 10. perperam ago.

Αδύνατος 56. 3. invalidus.

Αδ. 4. 15. — 9. 13. *latine resolvendum per particulas*. prout quisque, quotiescunque &c. 14. 1 &c. semper, plerumque.

Αἶνας ** 19. *apud poetas pro αἰώνιος* perennis, perpetuus.

Αἶλον 40. 11. id de quo certatur.

Αἰμαδύς 64. 5. excruciatas.

Αἰσίομαι ** 17. capio. *passim* eligo, desiguo. 31. 1. — 53. 10. 61. 2. antepono, malo. *Heb.* 11. 25.

Αἰεῖν 38. 14. cursu capio seu currendo assequor et comprehendo, præverto.

Αἰετομαι κίνδυνον 41. 8. suscipio, vel adeo periculum.

Αισχυρίζομαι πάλιν 40. 17. me pudet ejuspiam. 40. 21. — 62. 8. revereor. 43. 23. — 53. 11. ἢ τοῖς ἡρώεσσιν. 9. 7. verecundor inter agendum.

Αἰσχρολογέω 21. 6. crimino, accuso.

Αἰσχρολογία 33. 4. suspensor *Cicerone vertente*. Tusc. III.

Αἰσχρολογία 49. 13. citra periculum.

Αἰμὴ 8. 20 *sc. καὶ*, articulus temporis quo res aliqua debet agi. ἀκμή τύχης summum discrimen fortunæ bellicæ.

Αἰχλυστός 60. 20. incastigatus, adeoque dissolutus et inobediens.

Αἰσθή 7. 7. fama.

Ακούειν 61. 1. audire *sc. cum effectū*, i. e. obtemperare.

Ακρόασις 4. 15. auscultatio, obediencia.

Αλίσκομαι 46. 13. capior.

Αλλὰ τί μοι τι ἀπὸ τίνος 21. 19. commuto i. e. unum alteri præfero.

Αλλότριος 44. 5.

Αμφοτέρω * 9. in consiliis, conatibus, aut re aliquâ gerendâ frustror, infelici successu rem gero. 40. 5. destitutor. 39. 2. ἡμωσιν ὁμῶς offensiones, opera seu

I N D E X.

- seu actiones, quæ perperam factæ sunt, *vel*, quæ non succedunt.
- Ἀμείβεσθαι**. 7. 11. non testatus, nullo teste comprobatus.
- Ἀμαυρίω** **. 15. obscuro, obliero.
- Ἀμβλύς** ἄμυ. 6. 21. *Cic. vertente, Tusc. Disp. III. §. 28.* obtorpi.
- Ἀμβλύτερος**. 6. 21. *metaph.* languidior, remissior, tardior.
- Ἀμείβεσθαι** **. 6. pertransco.
- Ἀμνησία**. 20. 10. oblivio.
- Ἀμύνομαι**. 5. 15. — 20. 2. dimico, me tueor. 45. 18. resisto.
- Ἀμύνομαι** π. 3. 18. — 22. 19. — 23. 11. propulso, tueor me contra. 9. 3. — 22. 22. ulciscor, hostium injuriam propulso.
- Ἀμύνω** π. 20. 3. — 27. 20. suppetias eo, auxilior, succurro.
- Ἀμφισθενῶς** ἀπὸ πρὸς. 17. 12. litigo, contendo *de hoc tanquam ad me pertinente.*
- Ἀμφισθενῶς**. 25. 5. controversor, controversiam moveo.
- Ἀμφισθενήσας**. 24. 10. dubius, quod controversiam patitur.
- Ἀνὰ ὁδὸν ποιεῖν**. 11. 11. differre.
- Ἀνάγκη**, *passim*. necessitas.
- Ἀναγκάτιον** πὶ ἀρετῆς. 30. 1. primas deferre oportet.
- Ἀναίρεσις**. 1. 9. — 39. 17. sublatio cadaverum ad sepeliendum, jus sepulture.
- Ἀναίδης**. 10. 2. qui non sentitur.
- Ἀνακαταίρεσθαι**. 23. 18. persequor, *nisi forte referatur ad τὴν θάλατταν*, repurgo.
- Ἀναμνήσκω**. 44. 1. expecto.
- Ἀναλίσκω**. 31. 22. utendo absumo, consumo, dilapido.
- Ἀνάμνησις**. 48. 3. commonescētia, *seu actio commonescendi alium, et faciendi ut reminiscatur aliquid rei. ὑπὸ μνήσεως. Hesych.*
- Ἀναμφισθενῶς**. 48. 21. sine ullâ controversiâ.
- Ἀναμίσχωντες**. 11. 3. cui nullus se in certamine opponit.
- Ἀνάξιος**. 26. 11. indignus, diversus ab eo quod dignitas et merita postulant.
- Ἀναστάσμαι**. 33. 2. aptus sum *Cicerone vertente Tusc. V. pendeo.*
- Ἀνδραποδίζομαι**. 52. 2. *de arbe*, in servitutem redigor, subjugor.
- τὸ Ἀνδρῶν**. 5. 10. fortitudo virilis, *seu*, quæ viros decet.
- Ἀνεμίως**. 5. 10. solute et liberé.
- Ἀνεκτός**. 2. 23. tolerabilis.
- Ἀνελπίτως**. 25. 12. præter spem accidens.
- Ἀνελπίτως**. 38. 14. præter spem.
- Ἀνεπαχθῶς**. 4. 13. non invidiose, non importune.
- Ἀναιρέσις**. 56. 2. maiorem afferens, tristis, acerbus.
- Ἀνίστημι**. 53. 21. erigo.
- Ἀνίσταμαι**, 11. 2. adversarius, æmulus. 47. 22. anceps, æquo Marte certans. *ἔσται* 27. oblocutari, repugnare.
- Ἀνίσταμαι**. 19. 12. inæqualis.
- Ἀνώνυμος**. 39. 8. ἄδῳς H. nomine carens, *id est*, celebritate, ignobilis, obscurus.
- Ἄξιον**. *passim*. dignum, par est, decet.
- Ἄξιον**. 19. 16. dignor. 21. 2. audeo. 33. 10. — 50. 20. volo, peto, postulo *ut rem quam æquum esse iudico.* 40. 22. — 41. 6. — 51. 20. dignum esse iudico, æquum censeo. 44. 7. puto, existimo. *τινα τινας.* 55. 4. dignor, aliquid alicui permitto tanquam digno *qui illud accipiat.*
- Ἄξιον**. 2. 2. dignitas, auctoritas.
- Ἄξιον**. 4. 6. existimatio honorifica,

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- fica, quæ scilicet viam aperit ad dignitatem.*
- Αξύνειτο. 2. 2. insipiens.
- Απαγορεύω. 28 24. fatisco, frangor, animum despondeo.
- Απειθής κακῶν. 45. 4. inexpertus malorum, insuetus malis, adeoque impatiens.
- Αποβάλλομαι. 8. 20. discedo *sc. è vitâ. passim*. liberor, solvor. 29. 22. digredior.
- Απαντάω. 44. 3. — 51. 2. obviam procedo, *sensu militari*.
- Απερηστήτως. 57. 13. inexorabilis.
- Απειρη. 5. 7. dolus.
- Απέχω. 25. 18. renuntio, sinem facio præ lassitudine.
- Απειρος. 40. 4. — 38. 2. inexpertus, ὁ μὴ ἔχων πείραν, qui non habet peritiam ab experientia, rudis. 45. 5. ἀπειροῦ ἀνδρῶν ἀγασθῶν.
- Απειρος. 45. 7. infinitus, immensus.
- Απιδύνομαι. 19. 7. repulsam patior.
- Απὸ χρίσεως τινός odiosum esse, in alicujus odium incurere.
- Απίχομαι πνός. 60. 23. abstinenter me gero erga aliquem.
- ἢ καὶ Απισίον. 60. 16. *idem quod ἀπισίον* imperium minime detrectandum esse.
- Αποβαίνω. 43. 8. descendo ex navi, copias expono.
- Απερίνομαι. 1. 4. absfum. *hic*, major.
- Απογινώσκω. 49. 22. renuntio.
- Αποδίδωμι. 51. 17. — 53. 20. reddo, efficio.
- Απεδράω. 49. 17. subduco me, fugio.
- Αποδύομαι. 15. 19. positis vestimentis me paro ad —
- Αποδύνησκω. 64. 1. de morte violentâ.
- Απολαύω. 56. 12. commodum seu fructum capio.
- Απαλείπω. 38. 15. relinquo post me.
- Απολογίζομαι. 54. 4. ostendo argumentis, quasi relatis rationibus.
- Απορίω. 25. 17. difficultas, res perplexæ e quibus explicare nos non possumus.
- Απύρτο. 56. 5. inops, indigus; qui in ejusmodi difficultatibus constitutus est, ut ex iis se explicare nequeat.
- Απεφάινω. 53. 20. reddo, præsto.
- Απράσμων. 6. 8. quietus, iners, *sc. vir bonus et placidis moribus qui negotium aliis exhibere non solet, et simul qui sibi negotia non libenter exhibet*.
- Απεικής. 5. 23. sine dignitate, non indecorus.
- Απροφασίστως. 60. 24. sine recitatione.
- Απτομαι. 27. 9. aggredior, invado, manus infero.
- Απειθία. 5. 19. beneficentia. *passim* virtus. 58. 13. virtutis laus.
- Αριστίον. 22. 14. præmium seu honorarium quod datur ei qui omnium fortissimè et strenuissimè se gerit.
- Αριστοκρατία. 19. 3. *proprie* Optimum principatus, *hic* optime constitutum imperium.
- Αρχή. 34. 18. magistratus.
- Αρχω. 12. 9. — 19. 9. magistratum gero. 12. 5. — 47. 5. impereo, præsum.
- Αρχήδριον *sc. prius* subditi. 61. 6. Duces.
- Αρχομαι. 35. 2. incipio.
- Αρωγή. 24. 6. auxilium, subsidium.
- Ασέβητος. 39. 15. impiè contemnor.
- Ασθενία. 19. 6. tenuitas opum, paupertas.

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Ἀσκήσις τι. 31. 7. operam do alicui rei.

Ἀσκησις. 5. 9. exercitatio.

Ἀσπράγος. 26. 24. lubenter.

Ἀσπάζομαι. 56. 19. amicé excipio, amplector, amo.

Ἀσπασίας. 51. 18. à seditione immunis.

Ἀσπς. 1. 10. Civis, *nomen pecuniarie Atheniensibus, quorum Urbs dicebatur* Ἀσπς.

Ἀσφάλεια. 10. 15. securitas.

Ἀσχυρῶς. 35. 8. planè, profecto.

ἀπλῶς, κατὰ πᾶν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐνὶ λόγῳ,

ἀληθῶς. *Schol.* Aristoph. *Plut.*

πυχὴ Atticis est dolus; hinc

ἀπχυρῶς, ἀπὸ τῆς πυχῆς sine dolo, ergo verè, revera.

Ἀτιμωσία. 45. 3. contumelia afflicto.

Ἀυ. 13. 3. rursus, vicissim.

Ἀυτοκράτωρ. 3. 16. rebus omnibus instructissimus, ita ut ei abunde suppetant omnia. qui suis praefidiis munitus non eget ope alterius.

Ἀυτοκρής. 7. 4. satis instructus.

Ἀυτομάτως. 57. 17. qui fortuito oritur, vel sponte naturæ venit.

ὁ αὐτός. 54. 15. — 18. idem.

Ἀυτοσχιδιάζειν. 14. 5. — 19. 1. ex tempore dicere.

Ἀυτοχρῆν. 22. 12. eodem solo innatus quod quis incolit.

τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατεργάσθαι. 8. 15. incertus successus.

Ἀφανεία. 4. 9. (*sensu metaphorico ut ei contrarium ei λαμπρότης*) obscuritas.

Ἀφανής. 1. 9. non apparens, ab aspectu remotus.

Ἀφανίζω. 40. 16. ab aspectu removeo, tollo ex oculis. ἡφανίσθη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων evanuit ex conspectu hominum.

Ἀφαιδία. 9. 20. — 44. 10. non

parco vitæ vel corpori, expuens me facile cuivis periculo.

Ἀφθόνια. 37. 12. copia, abundantia.

Ἀφίσταμαι πρὸς. 17. 10. adeo. 21. 24. pervenio.

Ἀφίστημι. 28. 34. discedo, deficio a fide datâ.

Ἀχάρις. 33. 18. injucundus, immoriger.

Ἀχθηδών. 4. 13. dolor.

B.

Βάρεσθαι. 15. 17. *generatim* omnes, qui diverso ab aliis sermone utuntur. In Asiâ, ii qui erant in ditione Regis Persarum; In Europâ, Thracæ, Getæ, Pæones, Epirotæ.

Βασιλευσθαι. 42. 21. regor. 48. 14. dominatione opprimor.

Βασιλεύς. *passim*, Rex Persarum. Cum enim Cyrus Assyriæ et Mediæ regna in Persas transtulisset & Asiam debellâisset, vocatus est μέγας βασιλεύς, a quo postea Persarum reges μεγάλους βασιλεὺς appellari se voluerunt.

Βιάζομαι. adigor.

Βίος. 55. 6. vita, victus.

Βλάβη. 6. 11. damnum, detrimentum.

Βοηθία. *passim*. suppetias eo. 58. 25. venio ad auxiliandum, *περὶ* sc. honores et majestates Deorum violentur.

Βοτίν. 23. 7. pecus, bestia cicur.

Βυλότης. 12. 2. curia.

Βύλησις. 3. 4. voluntas, votum.

Βράχος. * 4. certaminis arbiter, iudex.

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Γ.

- Γῆ. ἐν τῇ γῇ. 5. 17.
 Γηροπρεβία. 34. 12. alo aliquem
 in senectute et ei necessaria sub-
 ministro.
 Γνώσκω. 31. 22. existimo, statuo.
 44. 3. decerno. sic Rom. 6. 6.
 hoc cogitantes eâque cogitatio-
 ne excitati ad agendum pro
 dignitate &c. γνώσις ὅμοια. 42.
 22. sentio. 48. 17. iudicio.
 Γνώσις. 48. 23. germanus, inge-
 nuus, originem habens legiti-
 mam, non fucatus.
 Γνώμη. 1. 1. — 9. 16. — 21. 3.
 prudentia, mens, animus. 60.
 20. certum animi iudicium.
 τῇ Γνώμῃ. 4. 19. consulo, de in-
 dustriâ.
 Γοητεία. 13. 7. præstigiis et in-
 cantatione illicio, fallo.

Δ.

- Δαιμόνιον. 58. 24. Deus supre-
 mus, divinitas mundi modera-
 trix.
 Δαίμων. 57. 13. cuiusque Genius
 præstes, conciliator fortunæ vel
 bonæ vel adversæ.
 Δαῖμον. * 3. periculum.
 Δανίς. *passim*, gravis. πρὸ Δανά.
 60. 11. res formidolosæ.
 πρὸ Δανόν. 61. 5. periculum, ma-
 lum imminens.
 Δανὸς λίγαν. 19. 16. peritus di-
 cendi, qui arte dicendi valet.
 Δεξιόμαι. 47. 12. dextram jun-
 go, amplexor.
 Δέομαι. 50. 9. quæro.
 Δεδιεραῖον. 22. 15. præmium quod
 datur iis qui secundum obtinent
 locum.
 Δεσπότες. 20. 7. inferior.

- Δέχομαι. 22. 4. sustineo impetum;
 resisto.
 Δηλαδὴ. 12. 3. an forte, videlicet.
 Δημοκρατία. 19. 1. imperium po-
 pulare.
 Δύεαι. * 1. pugna.
 Διαγίγνεται. perseverare, perma-
 nere.
 Διαδοχῇ. 3. 9. per successionem,
 aliis succedentibus aliis.
 Διατίομαι. 5. 10. vitam ago,
 dego.
 Διακινδυνεύω μάχην. 22. 13. peric-
 ulum subeo in bello.
 Διακρίνω. 24. 11. aperio quod res
 est; vel dirimo *sc. contentio-*
nem.
 Διαλύειν φέρον. 23. 3. discussio,
 finio.
 Διατίομαι. *sc. ὅτι πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἐς*
ἐπιχειρήσειν. 23. 15. eo sum a-
 nimo erga illum ut cogitem in-
 vadere.
 Διαβλάπτω. 24. 1. de bello, ex-
 haurior.
 Διαπέμπω. 59. 8. impetro.
 Διασώζω. 55. 9. conservo, tueor.
 Διατελῶ. perito in, preservero.
 Διατριβή. 60. 9. mora.
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 tecellere, præstare.
 Διαφίρω. 5. 3. discrepo. *μεγάλα*
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 teo.
 Διδωμι ἑλεῖν. 50. 2. demonstro.
 Δίωμι. 38. 6. Percurro oratione,
 narro.

I N D E X.

- Αντιέχομαι.** commemoro per partes singulas.
Απεινύομαι. 21. 13. pervestigo.
Αιτήσθ. 4. 20. per totum annum durans.
Αίστημι. 21. 16. discedo, extendo me.
Δίκαιος εἰμι. 30. 16. *idem quod δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐμὶ* æquum est me.
Δικαίω. 15. 18. justum et æquum cenfeo.
Δίκην δύναι. 39. 6. pœnas dare. — ἔχειν. 39. 14. pœnas subire.
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Δυσχερδύνει. 55. 12. ea quæ infelicitè gesta sunt.
Δυσχερεια. 30. 1. difficultas locorum orta sive ab asperitate sive ab angustia.
- B.
- Ἐὰν μή.** 34. 6. si non, etiamsi non.
Ἐγκαθίστημι. 52. 16. constituo.
Ἐγκλημ. 50. 9. querela, criminatio.
Ἐγκρατής. 19. 4. compos, qui in potestate habet.
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Ἐξελοντής. 28. 19. miles voluntarius, qui sponte militat.
- Ἐδίζω.** 23. 7. affuefacio.
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Ἐἴη. 58. 24. credibile esset, optandum foret.
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Ἐκότεον μῶλον. 56. 22. merito magis, justius.
Ἐλεγκνῶς. 29. 11. purè, sincerè, q. d. τῇ ἅλῃ κρινόμενον, quoniam ad ἅλῃν spectandorem solis, τὰ μισμύματα καὶ τὰ ἀμυγᾶ facile διακρίνεται.
Ἐμφορται. 20. 22. assignatum est fatali quâdam velut partitione, fato decretum est.
ἔμμι. 3. 22. eo, ibo.
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Ἐκλογίζομαι. 6. 14. subductis rationibus expendo, considero.
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 Ζῆλος. 52. 23. æmulatio.
 Ζηλόω. 4. 1. æmulator. 55. 23. — 56. 6. — 58. 1. beatum prædico.
 Ζηλωτός. 55. 7. beatus, cui merito quis invidetur et æmuletur. 57. 19. expetendus.

H.

Ηγίωμα. *passim.* præsum, impero. — αὐτὶ ἰλάττοντο. 55. 19. minoris æstimo.
 Ἠδονή. καθ' ἡδονήν. 4. 12. pro libito.
 Ηλίστος. stolidus.
 Ηλικία. 50. 13. Juvēntus, juvenum multitudo, *sc.* qui per ætatem in armis esse possunt. 50. 20. οἱ τ' ἡλικίας ὄντες γαρονότις. impuberes. — καθ' ἡλικυῖα. 3. 14. firma, firmata ætas, *vel* justa, plena ætas.
 Ηπιος. *sc.* γῆ. 22. 11. terra con-
 tinens.
 Ηττώματι πνός. 46. 5. inferior evado.

Ηττων. 57. 12. minor, qui succumbit.

Θ.

Θάνατον. 56. 13. Morti addico.
 Θαυμάζω. 57. 8. suspicio, in admiratione habeo, magni habeo.
 Θαυμάσιος. 12. 6. admirabilis, illustis. ὁ θυνυμῶσις *ironicè.*
 Θᾶος. 45. 13. a Deo constitutus.
 Θεόπαις. 28. 5. maxime admirandum. Θεόν, τὸ εἶναι ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἄξιον λόγου, ὥστε θυνυμῶσις. *Hesych.*
 Θεοφιλής. 17. 11. Deo charus.
 Θεραπεία. *passim.* curo, famulor, — νόμον. 58. 4. obtempero, servo.
 Θεραπεία. 28. 11. cultrix, ad præstandum obsequium paratissima.

I.

Ἰδέα. 38. 18. forma. (*sc.* ὁνόμενος.) species.
 Ἰερόν. 47. 17. templum.
 Ἰσότης. 19. 17. æqualitas generis.
 Ἰσότης. 19. 17. æqualitas juris.
 Ἰσότης. 5. 11. paria certaminum pericula.
 Ἰσότης. 8. 2. æqualis, par.
 Ἰσότης. 53. 17. tropæum de aliquo statuo.

K.

Καταρτία. 27. 19. everto, diruo, 53. 21. *passive.*
 Καταρτία. 29. 15. permixtus.
 Καταρτία. 40. 19. ledeo.
 Καταρτία. 58. 20. fio, sum.
 Καταρτία. 39. 9. reddo, efficio.

I N D E X

- εἰς ἄλδιον. 41. 20. perduco ad securitatem. 42. 1. instituo. — πῆρῳ. 55. 22. amoveo. κω-
 τισσῶ pro καταστῆσαι ἐν
 χήρῳ. 34. 21. constituta in
 personâ, partes seu personam su-
 mens. 24. 8. conjicio in bel-
 lum.
 Καὶ γὰρ τι. 57. 21. etenim.
 Κακία. 27. 9. — 52. 9. improbi-
 tas, vitiositas.
 Κακηπραγμία. 9. 20. infelix sum,
 adversâ fortunâ utor.
 Κάκωσις. 9. 24. offensio.
 Κακός, 33. 18. affligo.
 Κάλλος. 31. 10. dicitur de quâvis
 pulcritudine, de omni eo ἐφ' ᾧ τις
 κωδύνεται pulcrior aut honestior
 evadat et sibi ipsi placeat. spe-
 ciatim 21. 11. pro pulcritu-
 dine oris.
 Κάμνω. 7. 22. laborem suscipio.
 Καμόντες. * 7. mortui.
 Κακέρειον. 10. 12. forti animo sum.
 28. 12. obfirmo animum, per-
 severo in proposito.
 Κακίζομαι. 21. 19. deducor, de-
 scendo, nave appulsâ.
 Κακωδύλομαι ῥασσιν. subjugo.
 Κακωλύομαι. 58. 25. evertor, de-
 struor.
 βλεν Καποσκινάζω, 18. 12. instrua
 vitam omnibus facultatibus seu
 rebus ad vitam necessariis.
 Καποσκινάζομαι τὴν πολιτείαν. 18.
 17. instituo rempublicam.
 Καποσκινύ. 4. 21. opificium or-
 namenti gratiâ instructum.
 Καποτροφή. 8. 5. exitus, finis, sc.
 vitæ.
 Καποτρίζομαι φανερόν ἔχθρου. 43.
 18. apertas inimicitias suscipio.
 Καποχρησίζομαι. 31. 22. abutor, uti
 aliorum quàm natura rei postu-
 lat, consumo.
 Καποψύδωμαι τινος. 32. 21. men-
 daciter confingo, ementior de
 aliquo.
 Κατεργάζομαι βίωσιν τὴν ἐλευθε-
 ρίαν. 50. 1. opera mea sta-
 bilio.
 Κατέρχομαι. 53. 5. descendo, mi-
 gro. 53. 21. — 54. 8. redeo
 ut exul.
 Κατερεῖ. 36. 5, 6. eloquar, pro-
 dam.
 Κατηρεῖον. 28. 9. reprehendo.
 Κατηρεῖον. instauro, cum virtute ac
 laude aliquid facio.
 οἱ Κάτω. 39. 14. Manes.
 Κάμας. 4. 16. proponor, confi-
 tuor. sic 1 Tim. 1. 9.
 Κάραδω. 52. 18.
 κηλίωμαι. 13. 13. permulceor, de-
 linior.
 κήρ. ** 7. in pl. fatum lethife-
 rum, lethum.
 κινδυνύομαι. 2. 17. in periculum
 adducor. 9. 22. periclitor.
 κινδυνῶ. 46. 1. ἡθομεῖν κινδύν,
 dimicatione facta. πικρῶ. 50.
 21. suscipere periculum.
 κινδυνύω. 5. 22. pericula adeo,
 suscipio. 12. 15. videor. 51.
 11. — 53. 16. belli discrimen
 adeo, dimico.
 κλεῖ. ** 19. — 38. 20. fama,
 gloria.
 κοιμίζομαι. 58. 9. sopior, demul-
 ceor, extinguor.
 κοινοῖομαι πῶς. 27. 17. communica
 cum aliquo rem agendam, com-
 munico cum aliquo nostrum
 consilium.
 κομίζομαι. 39. 14. consequor, ob-
 tineo.
 κόμπες. 6. 4. — 7. 5. vana gran-
 diloquentia, ostentatio et jacta-
 tio verborum.
 κοσμίω. ῥασσιν. orno, honesto.
 κόσμος. ** 19. decus.
 κρατία. 19. 9. imperium obtineo,
 dominor. 46. 7. potior.
 κράτος. 19. 6. imperium.
 κρείσσης. 6. 15. præstantissimus.
κρείστων

I N D E X.

ἐρίστη ἐν αὐτῷ. 7. 7. praesentior ἢ Ἀσπυγῶ. 4. 22. tristitia.
famā.

καὶ 24. 18. 3. hordeum.

ἐκείνου. 3. 13, 17. — 6. 19.
— 48. 23. — 49. 3. acquiro,
comparo. 38. 23. — 40. 7. —
53. 5. comparo, acquiro, ac-
cerio mihi etiam quae mala sunt.
53. 9. communem aliis fecura
procurantes civitatem. αὐτὸς ἡ-
χὸς ἀποτέλει καὶ τῶν. 44. 6.
vid. not.

A.

ἀσπυγῶν ἔχθ. i. e. ἔλκεων. 20. 10.
ἀσπυγῶν. 57. 13. fortitudo obtineo.
ἀσπυγῶν. ἐπιπιδὲ καὶ εὐδελῶν
(i. e. ἀσπυγῶν) occasione captā. for-
san, forma assistere, i. e. κα-
ταστῆναι. Act. 24. 25. ἐν τῷ ἑαυ-
τοῦ πνεύματι πορευόμενος αὐτῶν
8. 12. reputo. ἀσπυγῶν δι-
νοῦμαι. 30. 20. sumo vires. ἀσπυ-
γῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. 52. 22. nancif-
cor.

ἀσπυγῶν αὐτῷ. 57. 3. ignoro me
esse.

ἀσπυγῶν. 1. 6. arca.

ὡς δὲ λέγω. 25. 24. hoc est quod
velim, loquor hoc.

ἀσπυγῶν. 7. 19. — 11. 12. su-
persites.

ἀσπυγῶν. 56. 9. definire facio.

ἀσπυγῶν. statuo persuasione firmā
quae quasi rationibus subductis
et explicatis conclusa sit.

ἀσπυγῶν. 6. 15. cogitatio, deli-
beratio. 6. 23. computatio. ἀ-
σπυγῶν ἀδελφῶν. 43. 19. secum re-
putantes, secum ipsi pericula
examinantes.

ὡς λέγω. 51. 10. — 39. 3. fu-
tura. 52. 1. reliqua.

ὡς λέγω. 8. 23. ceteri, super-
sities.

M.

Μέλιος. 5. 5. institutio, doctrina.
Μακαρίζω τὴν (ὡς) τὴν. 57. 25.
beatum praedico, fortunatum ju-
dico. Luc. 1. 48.

Μακαρίζω. 8. 10. mollesco, ef-
feminor.

Μακαρίζω. * 3. μακαρίζω δ' ἡ-
ρῶν καὶ διμῶντες pugnantes tam
virtutis ingenitae vi citati quam
periculi sensu quod reipublicae
imminebat.

Μακαρίζω. ** 17. — 17. 11. sen-
sentiam testimonio comprobo.
Heb. 10. 15.

Μακαρίζω. 5. 3. cura, exercitatio,
institutum.

ὡς λέγω. 60. 23. notat non so-
lum simpliciter aliquid esse ad-
ministrandum sed recte et cum
successu.

ὡς λέγω. 46. 20. per vices, alter-
nis vicibus, seu discretim. ὡς
λέγω. 4. 7. aliqui ex parte,
nimirum oppositè toti communi-
tati civium.

Μακαρίζω. 47. 21. plenus.

Μακαρίζω. 59. 10. sententiam
muto.

Μακαρίζω. 54. 3. communico.

Μακαρίζω. 50. 18. accerisco.

Μακαρίζω. 5. 10. persequor sum-
mo studio, confector.

Μακαρίζω. ὡς δὲ λέγω. 4. 4. omnes
sunt participes aequi juris.

Μακαρίζω. 49. 2. particeps fio.

Μακαρίζω. 17. 1. inquilinus, nima-
rum qui patriā passus aut aliā
migrans ad se consulit.

Μακαρίζω. 2. 18. modice, ita ut sa-
tis sit. συμμίσγος, ἀλλος. Seb.

Μακαρίζω. ὡς δὲ λέγω. usque dum.

Μακαρίζω.

I N D E X.

Μηκούσ. 7. 21. pluribus verbis
différo.

Μητρίαι. 17. 3. noverca.

Μισαίω. 39. 15. polluo.

Μικρός. 50. 9. futilis.

Μνήσις. ** 12. memoria, monu-
mentum.

Μνήμη. 3. 8. mentio, commemo-
ratio.

Μοῖρα. 57. 13. fatum. 35. 9. *ὁ
μῦθος πατρὸς κρησσηκούσ,* in loco
patris constituta, partes vel per-
sonam patris sumens.

Μουσική. 14. 20. scientia modulo-
rum concinnorum. 20. 5. Poe-
sis. 35. 7. studia quæ dicun-
tur liberalia, literæ humaniores,
*πρæcipue poetis. Μουσικὴν, ᾧσιν
τίχην οἱ Ἀττιοὶ.* Hefych.

N.

Ναυόχων. 47. 22. pars fractæ na-
vis.

τὸ Ναυτιόν. 5. 17. res nautica.

Νῆσι, sic emphaticè dicuntur Cy-
clades Insulæ Maris Ægei.

Νικᾶν ναυμαχίαν. — *πόλεμον.* 26.
13. vinco navali prælio—bello.

τὸ Νομίζεσθαι. 35. 5. — 39. 23.
justa, ritus qui in more sunt
positi.

Νομίζω. 4. 20. moribus instituo.
17. 19. lege sancio, colo. 19.
15. — 38. 15. existimo.

Νοτῶν. 26. 23. male valeo, morbis
civilibus laboro, *quales sunt in-
testina discordia et seditiones.*

Ξ.

Ξηλαποία. 5. 5. ejectio peregri-
norum.

Ξύμφερον. 3. 24. utilis, commo-
dus.

Ξυναιεῖν. 7. 1. contraho in unum,
complector paucis.

Ξυνόδυρομαι. 32. 11. deploro *tan-
quam socius doloris.*

Ξυνοιναίω. 31. 12. conjungor, ad-
hæreo.

Ο.

Οικῶς. 6. 6. privatus. 4. 24. —
21. 5. propinquus, amicus. 22.
15. proprius, suus. 26. 21. in-
testinus.

Οικίω. 14. 1. mansionem habeo,
vivo, dego, *passim.* 18. 16. rem
meam administro. 4. 4. 19. 14.
gero rempublicam.

Οικητής. ** 16. habitator, incola.

Οἶκτος. 48. 4. ejulatus, commise-
ratio.

Οικτρός. 55. 6. miserandus.

Οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλά. 13. 14. sicut
plerumque. **Οἷος μέγας.** 47. 1.
quàm magnus. **Οἷόν τι ἦ.** 57.
9. fieri posset. **ὥς Οἷόν τι.** 22.
22. quod possibile esset. **Οἷος τ'
ἐμὲ.** *passim,* possum.

Οἶτος. ** 12. interitus.

Οἶον ἔχον. 35. 2. auspicii gratiâ.

Οκνέω. 61. 5. metus adeundi la-
boris.

Ολοφύρομαι. 1. 11. ejulo. 58. 5.
comploratu prosequor. *πῶς.*
10. 4. — 47. 13. — 55. 16. com-
miseror, vicem alicujus miseror.
53. 1. — 57. 2. lamentor.

ὥς ὁ Οὐρανός. 10. 17. ex æquo.

Ομολογούμενος. 28. 19. manifeste,
omnium consensu, sine contro-
versâ. 1 *Tim.* 3. 16.

Ομοῖον. 48. 23. consentaneus.

Ορχίζομαι. 53. 11. saccenteo.

Ορισμὸν ἔχει. 58. 10. statuere po-
test quousque *scilicet* quamdiu ali-
quis doleat.

Ορβανία. 34. 21. Orbitas.

Ουτι. 27. 22. *v. not.*

Ξαῖτος.

I N D E X.

Π.

Πάθος. 58. 8. casus, perturbatio animi, vel ægrotudo ex adversâ fortunâ oriunda.

Παιάν. 47. 19. *genus cantilenæ quod canebatur aut in belli congressu, aut in averfione malorum, sive morbi, sive belli.*

Παιδεία. 5. 9. institutio, instituendi ratio. disciplina i. e. morum gubernatio, quæ fit per assuefactionem, quotidiana exercitia, tempestivas castigationes et per exempla. *Epbes.* 6. 4.

Παιδῶσις. 7. 2. disciplina.

Παίζω. 15. 17. ludo pueriliter et puerorum more.

Πανδημία. 50. 16. cum universâ multitudine, *sc. militum.*

Παιονεργία. 31. 15. calliditas. a *παῖον* & *εργία*, qui nullâ non in re fit versatus, cujusmodi qui est, quoniam astutus et vaser esse solet, hinc fit ut pro fallaci et fraudulentulo accipiat.

Πανταχῶ. 38. 3. ubique gentium.

Πανταλῆς. 27. 13. universalis.

Παντοδαπός. 17. 16. omnigenus, omnis generis. 19. 11. qui est ex omni solo, omnifarius.

Παρελπίδα. 27. 1. præter expectationem et spem.

Παραβάλλωμαι παῖδας. 10. 17. obijcio *sc. periculis.*

Παρακινῶ. 17. 9. — 58. 11. hortor. *π. πνι.* 49. 17. admoneo.

Παρακινύωμαι. 16. 10. adhortor.

Παρακινύσμεν. 47. 19. adhortatio.

Παραλαμβάνω. 38. 21. assumo in societatem. *Αἴτ.* 15. 39.

Παραμυθίζωμαι. 16. 12. consolor.

Παρασπινύζωμαι. 31. 21. me accingo, me comparo, do operam.

ἐν τῷ Παρασπινύζω. 8. 11, 14. in ipsius rei actione, in præsentî, impræsentiarum. **ἐν τῷ Παρασπινύζω.** 15. 6. extempore.

Παρίχωμαι. 53. 19. exhibeo. *sic παρίχω.* 32. 23.

Παρθένω. 10. 18. confenesco, e flore ætatis egressus in senectutem vergo.

Παράδο. 46. 7. transitus, transseundi copia.

Πάρομαι ἀγαθόν. 41. 5. **Πάσχω** *εὖ.* 6. 19. — 27. 16. commodo afficior, accipio beneficium. *κω. πῶς.* 27. 15. malo multor. **παύω.** 13. 17. eadem in me expior.

Πατρίς. 17. 2. patria.

Πάρεμ. 9. 8. conatus.

Πενία. 4. 8. inopia. *minus quam πτωχία, et sæpe sensu honesto.*

Περαινώ. 30. 9. perduco ad finem, perficio.

Πελαριόμαι. 27. 18. aufero, diripio.

Περίελάω. 49. 10. circumdo.

Περίγρηγνι. 5. 22. contingit, obvenit, *q. d.* illud bonum consequimur.

Περίστημι. 46. 10. circumsto. 52. 23. oborior. 28. 6. *ὥς ἀπεστήται αὐτῷ sc. τῷ περιγρηγνι,* ut ita res illi in contrarium cederent, et circumactæ essent, ut eo redactus esset ut —

Περίλειμω. 15. 8. reliquæ.

Περιτρίβομαι. 9. 19. negligo, negligenter sero.

τὸ Πιστῖν. 6. 24. fiducia.

Πλανόμαι. 33. 5. erro, in errorem impellor, a veritatis nimiam tramite deturbatus, et velut locorum ignarus modo huc modo illuc appulsus.

Πλειονάζωται. 2. 21. amplificari. *sc. supra verum.*

I N D E X.

Πᾶσις. *passim*. populus, respublica.

Πείω. 55. 16. desiderio afficior.

Ποιῶν. 37. 12. facere carmina, Poetice scribere.

Ποιῶν τὰν πρῶτον. 37. 8. *idem* quod *πρῶτον*, praeferre aliquem, imperium vel officium vel munus aliquod ei mandans vel delegans. *τίκνωσιν.* 10. 13. liberos procreo. *πλουτὴν τῷ βίῳ.* 54. 14. *κίνδυνον.* 43. 11. infero periculum. *κίνδυνον.* 45. 14. suscipio, *vel potius* exhaurio periculum. *πρὸς πᾶσι.* 54. 22. — 56. 18. — 56. 23. magni facio, aestimo.

Ποικίλος. 13. 7. variego, vafre vario.

Πολιμαί. 54. 9. concerto, belli discrimen adeo et sustineo — *πολιμαί.* 24. 4.

Πολίς. 59. 7. incolae civitatis.

Πολιτεύω. 11. 14. rempublicam rego. *pro* *πολιτεύωμαι*, *secundum aliquos*, in republica verfor ejus legibus ac institutis vivens.

Πολυαχίσι. 23. 22. ad multa loca.

Πολυαχρό. 13. 15. multifariam, multimodum.

Πολύς. 24. 19. vehemens. 45. 8. *πολὸν ἔργον* difficile.

Πολύτροπος. 10. 4. varius, multimodus, multiplex.

Πονηρός. 57. 7. malus, instrenuus.

Προξίζωμαι. 4. 20. excogito, comminiscor. *sive eadem signif. ac* *κατασκευάζω*, paro, apparo.

Πρῶτον. * 10. *πρῶτον δ' οὐτι φωνεῖν ἔπαυεν*, neutiquam vero ratio excogitata mortem fugiendi cuivis suppetit.

Πρότιον. 28. 1. molior, studiosè in aliquo perficiendo incumbo.

Προσπίον. 1. 12. suburbium.

Πρόσω. 2. 3. anteco, praesto.

Προθυμίαμαι. 34. 20. cupio efficere. 12. 9. promptus sum, studeo, in animum induco.

Προθύμως. 3. 18. strenue, alacriter.

Προκάμνω. 5. 23. ante fatigor, ante debilitor.

Προποσίδω. 41. 7. propositus. *ἡδὲ.* 12. 1. 2.

Προμνύωμαι. 20. 11. hortor, suadeo.

Προνοίαμαι. 37. 7. provideo, consulo commodis alicujus.

Προπίπτω. 16. 3. deduco, comitor, prosequor.

Πρός. 2. 20. praeter.

Προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει. 8. 22. ut conveniebat civitati.

Προσῆκον. 9. 16. pertineo; *μη* *αὐτοῦ* *ἴκον* alienus. *Προσῆκον.* 1. 11. — *πρὸς* *vel* *πρὸς.* 55. 16. — 56. 24.

propinquus, affinis. *πρὸς* *αὐτοῖς.* 16. 1. debitus, consentaneus. *ἡ* *αὐτοῖς* *μοῖρα.* 32. 6. Sors divinitus tributa et ad quemlibet pertinens.

οἱ **Πρόδοι** **ἡμῶν.** 24. 20. majores.

Προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει. 4. 14. *i. e.* *ἐπιλείω* *αὐτὸς* *τῇ* *πόλει.* in rebus privatis verfor, privatas res agito.

Προπαίζω **πᾶσι.** 14. 2. illudo.

Προπύτης. 52. 5. *v. Not.*

Προσθήμι. 2. 12. addo, adjicio.

Πρόσφιλος. 35. 13. amans. *Προφιλέστερον.* 34. 2. gratiùs.

Πρόσφορος. 11. 9. aptus, conveniens.

Πρότερον elliptice. 40. 3.

Προπύμα. 1. 4. — 8. 7. in publico expono. ante oculos propono.

Πρότερον. 1. 4. triduo ante.

Προφύμα. 21. 7. praetexo, *κατὰ* *loco* *affero*.

I N D E X

Πυθάνομαι. 46. 8. rescisco, certior fio.
 Πυρρίς. 18. 3. triticum.

P.

Παθυμία. 5. 20. defidia, segnities.
 Πήμα. **. *relatione habitâ ad πῶτα, Laconica Mandata, ita dicta Lex.*
 Πυθαγόρῃ. 14. 23.

Σ.

Σαῖα * 3. parco servandi causâ.
 Σαμίντης 13. 20. majestas.
 Σαμίντιος. 13. 16. grandior, excelsior, cum quodam fastu.
 Σαῖς. **. 16. delubrum, sanum heroibus sacrum.
 Σαίπτομαι. 15. 7. expendo, meditor.
 Σπασάω. 43. 10. diffideo. 53. 4. contendo, certo. 26. 25. — 8. 22. — 54. 6. factionibus contendo, seditiose diffideo.
 Στερόνυμι. 1. 8. lectum suis operculis superstratis, seu stragulis tegere.
 Στυγίς. 60. 18. tristis, tetricus.
 τὸ Στυγίον. 61. 2. acerba illa vultus severitas.
 Συγγίνομαι τινί. 61. 23. consuetudine alicujus (sc. diuturniore) utor.
 Συγινώσκω. 27. 14. agnosco.
 Συγκάλλω. 15. 9. compono, concinno.
 Συμβάλλω. 48. 17. confero.
 Συμβάλλω. 24. 9. committo pugnam, praelior.
 Συμμίγνυμι. 27. 1. coalesco in unum, conjungo me.
 Συνάθροίζω. 46. 22. congrego.
 Συνθήκη. 53. 13. pactum, conventum.

Σφάλλομαι. 9. 8. frustror conaminc, quum nimirum non prosperè succedit quod tentavimus.
 Σχῆμα. 34. 21. habitus. ὃ χάμα καὶ ὁρῶσι partes seu personam sumens.
 Σώζω. *passim.* servo, juvo quo minus quis pereat aut vincatur.

T.

Τάξις. 49. 18. locus in acie.
 Ταῦτά ταῦτα. 10. 17.
 Ταφάι. 12. 11. exequiæ. *non ipsum actus sepeliendi sed, celebritas exequialis; sicut γάμος Mast. 22. 2. non ipsum matrimonium, sed celebritas nuptialis, maxime, convivium.*
 Τάφος. 1. 15. sepulchrum.
 Ταχ' ἂν. 2. 20. — 20. 7. forsan, fortassis. Ἀπὸ ταχίων. 44. 16. brevi, celeriter.
 Τεκμαίρομαι. 30. 20. conjicio, conjecturâ adsequor, conjecturam facio.
 Τελύττω τὸν βίον. 55. 13. — 57. 16. finio vitam. πλὴν τῶν. ἀβ. solutè. 59. 2.
 Τίλος ἀνδρῶν. 34. 23. idem quod τάγμα ordo, classis, agmen. vox autem τίλος sine adjecione pertinet ad virilis ætatis significationem.
 Τίλος. 12. 4. dignitas, princeps locus, magistratus.
 Τίμω. πρὸς τὴν χώραν. 24. 20. vasto et populor regionem seggetibus arboribusque succisus.
 Τίως. 13. 24. tamdiu.
 Τηλικῶτος ἂν de ætate minore. 12. 24. quum ejus sis adhuc ætatis, adeo junior.
 Τίθωμαι τὸν πόλεμον. 27. 3. — 29. 29. depono bellum, bello abisso,

I N D E X.

- fisto. ὅπλα ἐς δέξιν. * 1. armis concerto.
- Τιμωρίσμαι. 39. 18. persequor. ulciscor.
- Τί. 31. 23. *pro μίζα* ἢ aliquid non vulgare neque contemnendum. ἢ *ἄνα οἰμίνω*. v. *Galat.* 6. 3.
- Τολμάω. 22. 13. — 43. 17. audeo. 54. 23. sustineo, tolero, 29. 8. — 50. 18. sustineo, audeo. 28. 17. audeo, committo ut. 26. 2. *in malam partem*, audeo facinus.
- Τλῆμι. ** 8. in animum induco, sustineo.
- Τοιχαίρει. itaque.
- Τοτὶ μὲν — τοτὶ δὲ. 19. 4. — 47. 23. nunc quidem — nunc vero.
- Τρέψωμαι. 53. 24. me converto, memet operā et consiliis applico ad — 49. 20. in fugam verto, fundo et fugo.
- Τροπαία. 29. 12. signa barbarorum in fugam verforum.
- Τρόπος. 60. 13. ingenium, indoles.
- Τροφῆον. 55. 14. educationis præmum, quod *pro nutritione et educatione* alumnus suo nutritio *rependit*.
- Τυχεῖναι ἂν. 22. 3. sum. *τυχεῖναι πνος*. *passim*. assequor, obtineo. 39. 20. impetro. 38. 23. in rem insperatam incurrere. 26. 11. *de eo* qui in rem malam eamque insperatam incurrat.
- Τύχη. 8. 20. fortuna bellica. 40. 8. eventus prosper. *passim*, casus, infortunium.
- Υ.
- Υβρίζω. 41. 8. injurius, contumeliosus, qui, nullā aliorum habitā ratione, quidvis sibi in quemvis licere putat. *Rom.* 1. 30.
- Υγίς. 29. 10. incorruptus, sincerus.
- Υμνῶ. 57. 20. celebroy.
- Υπάρχω. nascor sum. 42. 7. obtingo, *i. e.* fortuna mea tulit. 22. 8. initium rei do, autor sum.
- Υπεκθήσμαι. 46. 21. subductum periculo exporto *sc. nave exportatum in loco tuto expono*.
- ὃ ὑπέρσῳθεν (*sc. μίξθ*.) 3. 1. quod superat (*sc. audientium captum*.)
- ὡς δ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς. II. 1. per incomparabilem exuperantiam, virtutis. 2 *Cor.* 4. 7.
- Υπερφανία. 22. 5. superbia.
- Υπερορώ. 57. 8. despicio, aspicio ultra ita ut negligam —
- Υπηρετίω. *proprie* subremigo. 25. 18. subministro, suppetias fero. *Act.* 24. 23. 42. 20. subservio, operam navo.
- Υποάλωμαι. 17. 23. suppono, mihi quasi subdititium assumo.
- Υπόβριος. qui quasi in manibus est. instans. 12 *ὑποβολή*. 14. 3. subito.
- Υποδέχομαι. 17. 6. concipio.
- Υπολαμβάνω. 58. 24. existimo, animo præsumo, expecto.
- Υπόμνημα. 10. 9. monumentum, quod rei alicujus recordari facit.
- Υφίσταμαι. 45. 17. sustineo, obnitor.
- Φ.
- Φείδωμαι. 24. 23. parco, do veniam, abstineo a cæde.
- Φέρειν ἐ' ἄγων. 59. 19. vid. *Asan*.
- Φέρω βαρίως ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς. 57. 5. graviter, molestē fero.
- Φεύγω. 24. 13. exulo.
- Φθονῶ σοι πνός. 18. 8. invideo, seu, denego propter invidiam qua te persequor, parcā manu distribuo.

I N D E X.

- distribuo. 54. 20. invido animo conor eripere.
- ὁ Φιλῆ προσπίπτειν. 24. 5. affolet.
- Φιλοκαλίω. 6. 2. elegantiae studeo.
- Φιλοπειρία. 21. 1. pervicacia.
- Φιλονεικία. 42. 1. contentionis plenus, qui magno et velut pertinaci studio contendit rem aliquam efficere.
- Φιλότης. 47. 6. amor, necessitudo.
- Φρονέω. 50. 9. μέγα. 56. 15. sum animo elato, memet effero, infolesco. πᾶσιν ἰφρόνουν. 41. 14. tantam de se opinionem concipiebant, tantos spiritus gerebant.
- Φρόνημα. 20. 21. prudentia, magnanimitas. 9. 14. animi elatio, cogitatio, quæ ab elato animo proficiscitur.
- ὁ Φυγάς. 59. 14. exul, in exilium pulsus.
- Φυλάττω. 46. 4. tueor, conservo.
- Φύσις. 50. 22. — 57. 6. natura. 22. 1. — 19. 17. — 29. 15. origo, ortus. 11. 6. — 38. 16, 24. sexus. 53. 7. — 58. 9. indoles, ingenium. 2. 22. ingenii captus. 57. 12. natura nostra, seu substantia nostra.
- Φύσις, φύσις πηρομένη. 45. 13. quæ naturâ sunt constituta.
- Φύσις καλὴς. 42. 22. bene nascor,
- X.
- Χαλεπός. 60. 1. moribus asper, sævus.
- τὸ Χαλεπόν. 61. 3. illa morum durities.
- Χάρις. μετὰ χάριτον. 7. 3. cum elegantia, decoré. Χάρις ἀδύναμις σωτηρίας. 44. 1. gratiam habere. 6. 20. ὁ δρᾶσαι τὴν χάριν. qui beneficium contulit.
- Χαρίσμαι. 21. 13. — 25. 10. subigo, subjugo.
- Χάρον. 11. 6. deterior, pejor.
- Χρᾶσμαι — ὑποκαυρῶ. 32. 2. utendo absumo. νόμος. 1. 1. servo.
- Χρῆσις ἐπὶ — 5. 11. tendo, obviam eo.
- Y.
- Υβρίσμαι τὴς ἐλπίδος. 45. 2. frustror spe. τῷ πλείδω ψευδοῖντες. 46. 3. fallo. falsa opinione concepta de multitudine.
- Υλὸς λόγος. 20. 7. nudus sermo.
- Ψυχή. 50. 18. — 51. 8. vivida vis animi. 53. 8. anima, vita.
- Ω.
- ὦς. 26. 24. — 27. 2. quam maxime. 52. 20. admirationis interjectio quam! 59. 2. Ἀττικὸν pro ὠς. ad.

F I N I S.

OBSERVATIONS

AND

NOTES

Upon the foregoing ORATIONS &c.



P R E F A C E.

THE world is in a manner agreed about the usefulness of Classical Authors for forming a just taste both of sentiment and stile.—Perhaps the truth of this observation would strike young Gentlemen more sensibly, and raise in them a spirit of closer application to their studies, if the subject-matter treated of in those Authors was now and then brought home to and enforced upon their apprehensions. The occurrences in common life afford frequent occasions of doing this; and passages may from time to time be selected sufficient to illustrate by their similitude what every man both sees and feels: And if they are pertinent and well worked up, the shortness of them ought to be no objection; since thereby they will neither burden the pocket, nor overcharge the attention.

The three following Orations were spoken, or supposed to be spoken, at *Athens*, making part of a noble and useful solemnity, instituted in honour of those who lost their lives in the service of their Country. *Thucydides*, B. ii. has given a particular account of the solemnity, which I have therefore prefixed by way of Argument to the Whole.

The *first* Oration was spoken by *Pericles* at the time of his having the administration of the *Athenian* affairs under his direction, after the first campaign of a long and bloody war, wherein all *Greece* and its neighbouring States were engaged, under the *Athenians* on the one side and the *Lacedaemonians* on the other: It contains a Panegyrick upon the *Athenian* people and government: The character to which that of the *Athenians* is put in contrast is intended for the *Lacedaemonians*. As it is not to be dissembled that the Orator does now and then deviate a little from truth in his reflections in order to flatter his Countrymen, so neither is it to be wondered that a speaker in *Pericles's* circumstances, before a popular audience, should take this method to enflame their passions of hatred and contempt towards a dangerous rival in power and glory.

The *second* and *third* Orations are to the same purpose; they contain moreover a sketch of the *Athenian* History regularly deduced, till about fifty-two years before the death of *Philip* of *Macedon*; by whom the fatal stroke was given to the Liberties of *Greece*.——They have ever been reckoned among the more valuable remains of *Greek* Learning: And the maxims of good sense and publick spirit with which they abound must give pleasure to every judicious reader.

It was from this consideration that I thought it not unbecoming my employment as a Tutor, during the War 1746, to publish them with explanatory Notes, Historical and Critical. Hereby, as by a striking example, I thought I was pointing out the usefulness of *Classical* Studies, and convincing young people

people of the substantial advantages to be derived from thence. For surely if they aim at energy or propriety of Diction, elegance of Disposition, or justness of Sentiment, they should habitually inure themselves to the accuracy of verbal criticism in the exercise of close translation : Hereby they will insensibly transfuse into their own compositions the beauties of the Classics. It was by this kind of working upon the *Greek* models, that the *Roman* writers formed their taste. I have in my notes pointed out several instances, wherein *Sallust* and *Cicero*, &c. have copied not only the sentiments, but the very expressions of these orations.——But the young Student must not rest here : He must at the same time pay a proper, a much greater, attention to other Studies ; he must enrich his imagination, he must strengthen and correct his judgment, by the liberal sciences and modern histories. And using these means it will not be long before he may venture to enlarge his sight, and judge for himself, how far antient representations, whether historical or political, under a similitude of circumstances, may be adapted to the present times : Thence he will naturally proceed to draw forth into common use such precedents, as may be regarded with reverence, and followed with success : And in short, whenever there shall be a call for the exertion of great talents as speakers or actors, upon the scene of public transactions, such persons will exemplify in what they say and what they do, that rich vein of good sense and excellent observations with which Classical authors abound. And for their encouragement, we may appeal to many bright examples, in this and preceding ages, for the happy influence of these

studies in giving that superiority, both in debate and action, which persons thus educated have ever maintained.

But, prejudiced as I am in favour of the general plan and subject-matter of these Orations, I think proper to obviate some wrong impressions which may arise from them, and to hint at some advantages which We evidently enjoy beyond the celebrated Claflick times, whether *Grecian* or *Roman*.

Here then, a very just exception may be taken to the rough treatment, which *Pericles* is represented, towards the end of his Oration, as using towards the female part of his audience—a treatment not easy to be reconciled with that good sense, generosity, and politeness which the *Greek* historians represent to be leading parts in the character of *Pericles*. Be it that modesty and reserve * were deemed so essential to a well-bred lady among the *Athenians*, that she rarely could make her appearance with decency beyond the limits of her own apartment, yet, on this melancholy occasion, mothers, daughters, and sisters were called forth into public view as it were by solemn invitation, and therefore had the public security for being protected from insult.—And highly disrespectful, if not insulting, it was in the Orator by a dark and ambiguous admonition to reproach them for giving a vent to that tenderness of affection, for which the female heart is peculiarly turned, and which it should seem to have been one considerable part of his busi-

* *Materfamilias*—in *Græcia*—nec in celebritate versatur—neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte adium, quæ *gynæconitis* appellatur, quo nomen accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.—*Coru. Nepos* in *Præf.*

ness to excite and encourage. Add to this, that, none being so deeply affected in the happiness of their future lives by that calamity which the Orator had undertaken to deplore, every humane disposition would be apt to pity and excuse, if not commend them, for being hurried into a transport of grief, however irksome others might find it to behold. Let it then be a sufficient censure of this passage to say, that *Pericles* was one of those statesmen, who had got above the feelings of domestic tenderness; a character that sufficiently accounts for many of those distressing calamities which befell the *Athenians* in the *Peloponnesian* war during his administration.

Again, we may justly wonder that the wise *Socrates* should be introduced as speaking with so much futility as we find towards the beginning of *Plato's* Oration. (For though the Oration be represented in the Dialogue as coming from *Aspasia's* mouth, either He or *Plato* are answerable for the sentiments there adopted.)—All we can say is this, that a popular audience having their local prejudices, the Orator condescended to flatter them in that particular, and spoke frivolously, in order that he might appear not quite out of character as an *Athenian*.

The same apology must be made, so far as any can, for his encouraging his countrymen in their ambition and oppressiveness, and in the inveteracy of their hatred towards *Barbarians*; whom they first stigmatized with an opprobrious name, and then, in virtue of it, thought themselves at liberty to use them cruelly.—A maxim, which, by their horrid enormities and merciless devastations in war, one would think some nominal Christians too had adopted, thereby

thereby *disgracing that holy name whereby they are called!*—What other judgment can we form of the barbarities exercised by the *Spaniards* in *America*—by Papists in general, whenever they have power sufficient, against Protestants?—What, of those scenes of military execution that were exhibited throughout *Germany* near a century and half ago—which were afterwards renewed by the *French* in the *Palatinate*?—and What of many horrible exactions practised in the late Wars throughout *Germany*? But, be our enemies who they will; nay, be their provocations ever so great, *British* good-nature, and much more *Christian* charity, must shudder at those dreadful evils which the most necessary war brings on both parties. To say nothing of the toils and difficulties to which even the victorious are exposed, Who can reflect upon the miserable deaths of such multitudes of human creatures, upon the innumerable distresses of innocent families, the afflictions of relations and friends, the inhumanities, and wickednesses of every kind, which are the common attendants of war, and not burn with an honest indignation against the authors of such calamities; who have no bowels, no conscience to remonstrate against offering so costly a sacrifice to the idols of their own resentment, ambition and avarice! —That the lives of mankind should be no more valued than the ammunition which is employed for their destruction,—that they should be considered as a part of it, is indeed a mortifying consideration, altogether irreconcilable with the supposition of a real dignity in human nature.—But for our comfort, both Reason and Christianity conspire to assert this dignity: and in proportion as the contrary principle is

is maintained, we commonly see the character of military men debased with every profligacy of Morals, the most abandoned impurity, the most relentless cruelty.

Again, with regard to *Athenian* liberty—the charms of which are so much heightened, and the love of which is so pathetically inculcated throughout these Oration—have we not sometimes seen men hurried into such visionary notions of Liberty as may endanger it to destruction, dissolving that union between the several parts of our happy constitution, to which we owe our hopes of its future stability, and from which we derive our present happiness?—such happiness! that with all the burthens we complain of and lament, there is not a nation upon earth with which any reasonable man amongst us can be willing, on reflection, to change conditions; at least a little experience would soon convince him of the badness of such a choice.

In the history of *Athens*, and particularly of that war in which the Oration of *Pericles* was spoken, we see much national wealth and many private conveniences much abused by luxury and extravagance:—Great men hereby bringing themselves into difficulties, and endeavouring to relieve their personal distresses by involving their country in greater. All having the same part in the legislature, we see ingenious men often vaunting themselves in specious and pompous appearances of public spirit; and thereby procuring shelter for selfish projects, for corruption and treachery. While All aspired to a larger share in the direction of public affairs, we see them losing all equitable temper one towards another, fierce in their contentions, dishonouring

honouring worthy characters, and driving them from their stations; and thereby bringing to themselves perpetual discomfort within, while exposed to most alarming dangers, till at length they were brought to ruin from without.

Well therefore may we rejoice in that excellent combination*, whereby the several parts of the *British* constitution are peculiarly adapted to answer the great purposes of men's submitting originally to government; namely, the securing our public independence from foreign invasions, and our personal rights from mutual encroachments. Far from repining at our dependency as Subjects (which is indeed no more than our being referred as members of society in a beautiful subordination to our head—as the several individuals to a common centre of union) well may we honour the memories of those Princes who ascertained our present happy establishment, and have since made it their glory, by a mild and just government, to secure to us the perpetuity of these invaluable blessings.

But further, when we smile, as smile we must, to see the wise *Socrates*, with an air of seriousness, reciting the legendary tales of *Athenian* superstition, let it not be the disdainful smile of profaneness, pronouncing “all religions to be the same.” It is the height of ignorance and folly, not to know and feel the difference; of dissingenuity, not to acknowledge it. Nay, *Socrates* himself, upon another more serious

* We may with pleasure review the picture of our civil establishment, in that draught which *Polybius* (B. 6.) hath struck out in theory as the perfection of human government.

occâſion, is introduced * lamenting the imperfection of that religion which he practiſed ; at the ſame time expreſſing his expectations that God himſelf, by a particular revelation in future time, would ſupply the defect. And it is our happineſs to enjoy that object of his wiſhes,—a religious diſpenſation, the moſt rational and worthy of God, the moſt humane and beneficial to mankind ; confirmed by a variety of the ſtrongeſt proofs ; full of purity in it's precepts, of awfulneſs in it's threatnings, and comfort in it's promiſes ; thus directing and ſupporting each perſon ſeparately, and at the ſame time endearing the members of civil ſociety to each other, by the union it enjoins of the ſame worſhip, with the profeſſion of the ſame belief and the ſame hopes.

Yet upon the whole, notwithstanding the above-mentioned exceptions, there are few *Britiſh* readers but will take a pleaſure in reviewing theſe monuments of *Athenian* patriotiſm ; happy if they go on† to invigorate and refine their own, upon chriſtian principles!

Influenced by theſe, they will, amongſt other fruits of them, thank God, for having from time to time ſupported our Sovereigns in the magnanimous reſolution to vindicate the juſt rights of their ſubjects both Civil and Religious, under circumſtances moſt diſcouraging and moſt affecting to every humane and generous diſpoſition, and for having ſo often bleſſed thoſe meaſures with important ſucceſſes.

To thoſe likewiſe, who have been to us the providential instruments of this ſecurity, will there be due

* See *Plato's* ſecond *Alcibiades*.

† Excellent helps for this purpoſe may be received from the *Sermons preached in the courſe of the war 1741*, &c. by Arch-biſhop *Secker*.

a large tribute of thankfulness. Studious men especially, the more unable they feel themselves either to ward off the mischiefs of war, or to find support under them, the more hearty should they ever be to concur with their fellow-subjects in every proper act of gratitude towards military Commanders, of honour to their persons while living, and of reverence to their memories when dead.

Neither yet should the merit of inferior instruments, the common Soldiers and Seamen, pass unnoticed or unrewarded. Whatever compassionate regard can be shewn to them, in their season of toil and danger; whatever relief can be given, or comfort administered to their Wives and Children, these are duties incumbent on us from principles, I will not say merely of Christian charity, but of common justice.

The *British* legislature, by the largeness of it's stated provision, and by it's occasional bounties, to persons engaged in military service, hath given repeated testimony to the truth and importance of this sentiment.

If *Athens* shewed any true policy in the establishment of her *Prytaneum*; if *Rome*, in her many encouragements of valour and industry; particularly in making a judicious distribution of spoils taken from the enemy,—in assigning to emerit foldiers such portions of conquered countries as might at once afford to them the means of comfortable subsistence, and add security to her colonies,—in erecting monuments to the dead,—in votes of triumph and thanks to the living;—the same schemes of policy have been with equal wisdom, and more than equal generosity, adopted among ourselves. Princely fortunes have been raised, princely palaces have been built, sometimes by the express command and munificence of our legislature,
—sometimes

—sometimes in virtue of that transfer which it hath solemnly made of those spoils, which by regular course of antient law and custom would have accrued to the public treasury;—Votes of thanks—a *most honourable fame*—have been decreed;—*Altars of virtue* have been erected to perpetuate the memory of eminently gallant commanders. And while the pompous edifices of *Chelsea* and *Greenwich* shall subsist, every Briton must reflect with pleasure that his Country is no less unrivalled in her care and gratitude towards her brave soldiers and seamen, than Foreigners, from frequent experience, have found reason to acknowledge them to be superior in the exertion of personal courage and activity.

Nor hath our Country, by any unmindful neglect, passed over the helpless Orphans and Widows of those to whom she owes her safety. The generosity and prudence of her appointments for the Widows of Officers, according to their several ranks, is well known. And the solemnity of her declaration, with respect to the lower classes, is worth attending to. 7 & 8 *Will. c. 21. 1696.*

Whereas the strength and safety of his Majesty's realms and dominions do very much depend upon the furnishing and supplying his Majesty's royal navy with a competent number of able men for that service;—and whereas the seamen of this kingdom have for a long time distinguished themselves throughout the world by their industry and skilfulness in their employments, and by their courage and constancy manifested in engagements for the defence and honour of their native country: And whereas, for an encouragement to continue this their reputation, and to invite greater numbers of his Majesty's subjects to betake themselves to his service by sea, it is fit and reason-

able that some competent provision should be made, that seamen, who by age, wounds or other accidents, should become disabled for future service, and shall not be in a condition to maintain themselves comfortably, may not fall under hardships and miseries, but be supported at the public charge, and that the children of such disabled persons, and also the widows and children of such as shall happen to be slain, killed or drowned in his Majesty's service, may, in some reasonable manner, be provided for and educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themselves, Be it therefore enacted, that every disabled seaman (qualified as in the Act is described) shall upon (due) certificate be admitted and placed in the said hospital, and shall have provided and allowed unto him during his life at the charges of the said hospital, and out of the revenues thereof, according to the rules, &c. thereof, fitting and convenient lodging, meat, drink, cloathing, and other necessaries and conveniencies; and also the widows of such seamen, and also their children shall be received into the said hospital, and there be provided for, and the children shall be educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themselves; all which shall be done so far forth as the said hospital shall be capable to receive them, and as the revenues thereof will extend for the purposes aforesaid, &c. &c.

Can any thing carry a stronger evidence of reason—a higher praise of benevolence than this declaration of our common Parent? And doth it not contain a virtual exhortation, that, in whatever degree the public provision shall be found incompetent to answer the whole purpose which She graciously intends, her children, one amongst another should supply the defect, as proper objects of their pity and beneficence shall occasionally be presented to their views?

That

That *British* hearts are so remarkably exuberant in acts of beneficence we may justly ascribe to the purity of that benevolent religion which we profess :—the influence of which will make itself felt even by those who are less speculatively attentive to the evidence and reasons upon which it is founded.—But as to prudential methods of exerting this beneficence most effectually for the public service, these are to be derived, at least they may admit of great improvement, from the study of those institutions, which, upon trial, have approved their excellence, and which, for this amongst other reasons, recommend the histories of civilized people to our regard.

After all, though the martial spirit is in some degree vital to our Country, yet it may sometimes rise too high ; it may be overbearing and arrogant ; it may hurry young men of sprightly genius prematurely into its tide of fury and violence. With regard to this latter case, all ingenuous persons will suffer their youthful warmth to be moderated by the advice of judicious friends ;—both for their own sakes, and for that of the Publick : for their own, that they may be assisted by them in chusing the most likely methods to obtain what they aim at ; and for the Publick, in order to prevent the mischiefs, whereby well-meaning persons of no experience sometimes frustrate the very end which they intend to promote. And considering how much the happiness of other people may be affected by men, whose circumstances of birth and fortune place them in a high degree of eminence, it is a matter of public consequence, that such should always improve the precious opportunity of taking time to discipline both their understandings
and

and morals, before they * enter into military life. This privilege is perhaps one of the most valuable belonging to an ample fortune; and, if lost in its proper season, is scarce afterwards to be regained. The loss indeed is ever felt severely both by themselves and by their Country. For their minds having been defrauded of proper culture, they become self-opinionated and vehement: they learn to despise many valuable accomplishments for which they have no relish, and even to disregard some parts of our national constitution, merely because they do not understand it; unhappily in the mean time mistaking their own ignorance for largeness of thinking, and the perverseness, which arises from thence, for spirit and resolution. Certain it is, that history affords illustrious examples of men whose courage and conduct in battle have not been a whit less distinguished for their having first compleated a course of literary education, before they entered the camp as Soldiers. Among the *Greeks* and *Romans* we have the memorable instances of *Xenophon* and *Lucullus*; and in our own country, though modern names might be brought into view, I content myself with mentioning the accomplished *Sir Philip Sidney*, with the gallant and renowned *Sir Walter Raleigh*, referring for others to *Lord Clarendon's History of the Civil War*.

It is undoubtedly for the Soldiers' (I mean the Officers') own comfort to have his mind cultivated by Science: This it is which must prepare him for Ac-

* Μέχρι μὲν ἥτης νεωτέρᾳ γυμνασίᾳ προσυφίσταται. ὅταν δ' ἀπ' ἥτης ᾖ ἐν πύλαις τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι γινώσκῃ. τότε ἀεμύνηται ταῖς πόνοις καταλαμβάνων πρὸς ἐχθροῖν ἡλικίαν· ἅμα γὰρ τῆτι διακρίσῃ καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονεῖν ὁ δεῖ.

Aristot. Pol. l. 8. c. 4.

tion, and afterwards, in the intervals of ease, supply him with matter of rational employment: this alone can temper that ferocity, which, (however necessary to be sometimes assumed in the course of military operations) if not mollified by Science, too commonly degenerates into Brutishness: It is This, which must convince him of the reasonableness of that subordination, in which the constitution of our Country hath placed the Military departments beneath the Civil.

Highly fitting it is surely, that those should principally direct this dreadful engine of war, who regard as their first object the welfare and not the destruction of mankind;—that the same hand which deals out the protection of Law should alone be intrusted to deliver out commissions for killing and destroying, and to controul the course of military operations, saying, Hitherto shall they proceed and no further, Here shall their proud ravages be stayed.

And indeed, Tyrants excepted, what Soldier, capable of reasonable reflection, doth not shudder at the work of his own employment? What generous mind, after finishing the largest range of Conquest, can help lamenting over the ruins of military devastation, or wishing for that happy time which shall restore the Arts of Peace, annul the dictates of arbitrary Power, and give to civil Laws their benign energy? For it is under the influence of these, that every kind of rational enjoyment attains its security: here alone can be felt unfulfilled pleasures of sympathizing with friends and families in the delights of domestick tenderness and mild affection. Nor let it be forgotten, that from this connexion with Civil Polity the Military character borrows its highest dignity,

nity,* of being truly beneficial to mankind,—a dignity, which is vainly fought for in the glitterings of equipage, the pride of pomp and pageantry and parade,—and is no less vainly assumed by the terrors of fierce looks, insulting menaces, and overbearing outrage. Lastly, it is from this connexion alone, that the Soldier hath principles to justify his Profession, and satisfy his doubts concerning the lawfulness of his Calling. For thus he may reason, “ Shocking
 “ as my employment appears, and hard to reconcile to the feelings of Humanity, yet I see its
 “ warranty to be the same with that of Civil Government. If Magistracy be the ordinance of God,
 “ for the preservation of justice among fellow citizens, using the military arm, for repelling the injurious
 “ treatment of foreign enemies, cannot be sinful. The
 “ Sword, which is delivered to the Magistrate by
 “ God for this double Purpose, I accept from Him as
 “ his Assistant in those salutary works of public Good. Regulating my conduct therefore in all other respects
 “ by Justice, Honesty and true Honour, I will keep
 “ a Conscience void of offence towards God and towards Man : My heart shall not reproach me with
 “ doing violence, unnecessary, to any person : I will
 “ humbly submit myself in the day of battle to the
 “ disposal of God’s Providence : He will cover my
 “ head, or reward my being faithful unto death,
 “ by a crown of life in reversion.”

* Δήλον ὅτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείας κάλας μὲν θεῖον ἔχ' ὡς τίλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατος, ἀλλὰ ἰκίνε χάριν ταύτας. *Aristot.* Polit. 1. 7. c. 2. See more to the same purpose, c. 15. Indeed the moral, political, and critical works of this Author cannot be too much recommended.

While the military Profession continues thus generous in its principle and guarded in its exercise, it is not condemned by Religion. And Self-love must lead us to honour it, from considering the want which we may have of its services: For, when the faculty of doing mischief is improved into an Art, it becomes necessary to counteract it in its own way.

We read of times, when men, confiding in their prowess, sallied forth from domestick quiet, professing to combat difficulties, to redress all wrongs, and indeed to take up every quarrel that they met with. Injured innocence, thus assisted, often rewarded these adventurers with wealth and pre-eminence; whose supposed disinterestedness gave a lustre to their employment.

If we go up to the fabulous Ages of *Greece*, we find instances of this in the Heroism of *Hercules*, &c. and in grateful returns which were made to him, and, for his sake, to his Descendants. From the same principle it was that Knights of old derived their honour and importance.—Not but that the soldier of fortune, Antient as well as Modern, often took upon himself to estimate the value of his services, insisted upon compensation, and enforced the sentence of his own pronouncing, by living, as the military phrase is, at discretion. And accordingly, as Justice hath not always the greatest ability to reward her advocates, and, as Tyrants, having the spoils of multitudes at command, are commonly the best paymasters, the Courts of *Persia* and *Ægypt* were the mart most frequented by the *Grecian* Traders in war.

From *Xenophon's History of the Expedition of Cyrus*, I have given exemplifications of this character; varied

according to the several tempers and natural dispositions of different men, the Rough, the Liberal, and the Selfish. *Clearchus* is the downright Soldier ; his aims and fortunes are all turned to Fighting for the sake of Fighting ; punctual himself in the observance of military Discipline, rigorous in his exactions, imperious in command. *Proxenus* is a just object of our love and esteem, a good-natured and accomplished Gentleman, in whom the vehemence of the Soldier is subdued and softened by the meditation of the Scholar. *Meno* we must detest as a meer Mercenary, devoid of the principles of common justice and humanity, rapacious upon every occurrence of advantage, and brutish in the habit of Self-indulgence.

Unwilling to swell this Collection too much, I have with some reluctance omitted the character of the younger *Cyrus*. In him may be seen the true portrait of irregular Ambition, ever attentive to advancement, regardless of the ties of affection or obligations of duty ; artful in liberality and insinuating in address ; active in projecting of schemes, laborious and intrepid in their execution. *Xenophon's* own character is delineated throughout the same pleasing unaffected Narrative : But the reader is left to collect it from a simple detail of those curious adventures in which He was concerned as principal Conductor ; and which well deserve consideration from those who betake themselves to the Profession of Arms. For they exhibit an illustrious display of prudence and dexterity as well as courage, and above all of mildness, modesty, and benevolence ; which latter virtues, in the event of that Expedition appear no less productive of Success and Glory, than the other military qualities,

qualities, more commonly to be met with, of boisterousness and arrogance.

Many of the reflexions which I have made in the former part of this Preface are applicable to the extracts from *Cicero*; and therefore need not be repeated.

It may be presumed that the young reader of the foregoing Orations will be desirous of forming to himself a plan of the general History and Constitution of *Greece*, and of *Athens* in particular: I have therefore drawn out, for his assistance, a Chronological Table of the *Grecian Affairs*; marking with asterisks those which are alluded to. And, that he may not, in the mean time, be quite lost with respect to the thread of the *Sacred* and *Roman* Histories, I have from each inserted some principal matters to point out the mutual coincidence of their respective affairs. In my Notes I have also endeavoured to throw light upon particular passages by large references to other writers. In order to render them more useful, it should be observed that the accounts of the first ages of the *Grecian* History are represented with a mixture of so much fable, as to be better suited for the extravagancies of Poets, than for the gravity of Historians.

Apollodorus, an *Athenian*, who flourished *ante Chr.* 138. has left three books of his *Bibliotheca*, which contain a general view of the fabulous traditions concerning the *Athenian* Gods and Heroes before the *Trojan* war.

Herodotus is the most antient of the *Greek*, and indeed of all Writers of profane History, now extant. He lived about 456 years before *Christ*. His History

is contained in nine Books, intitled by the names of the nine *Muses*. Besides a narrative of the wars of the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, he intermixes by way of digression, and that very largely, several curious accounts of Antiquities, both *Grecian*, *Affyrian*, and *Egyptian*. He says but little of the antient state of *Greece*, and that is to be found chiefly in B. 1. c. 56, &c. and B. 5, c. 58, &c. The parts of his History referred to in the Orations of *Plato* and *Lyfias* are to be met with in the six last Books, viz. from *Darius's* expedition into *Scythia*, to the victory obtained over the *Persians* at *Mycale* by *Cimon*.

Thucydides was coteremporary with, but about twenty years younger than *Herodotus*. His History is comprized in eight Books. The beginning of his first Book, viz. c. 2—19, is a sort of Introduction to his History, with a sketch of the antient state of *Greece*; the remainder of it contains the several transactions which gave occasion to the *Peloponnesian* war; which continued between 27 and 28 years. The seven last books of *Thucydides* comprehend almost 21 years of that time, and end about 411 years before *Christ*.

Xenophon's Grecian History is contained in seven Books, and includes the space of almost 50 years, beginning where *Thucydides* left off, viz. in the latter end of the 21st year of the *Peloponnesian* war.—The facts referred to in the foregoing Orations are to be met with in the five first Books.

Diodorus Siculus lived in the time of *Augustus Caesar*. His History is a large and laborious collection of Facts: it is now imperfect. He wrote it in forty Books. The five first are still remaining, and contain

tain an account of the *Aegyptian, Assyrian, Libyan, Grecian* affairs before the *Trojan* war.—The 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. are wanting. From the 11th to the end of the 20th, the work is intire: It begins with the account of *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, and goes down to the year 354 before *Christ*.—The last 20 Books which carried the History on to the times of *Julius Caesar* are lost. The parts, which may serve to illustrate the Orations, are B. 4, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Strabo flourished in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius Caesar*, and throughout his *Geography* hath interspersed many historical Memoirs concerning *Greece*.

Cornelius Nepos may be consulted for his account of the several Commanders, who were principally concerned in the *Grecian* Affairs; and also *Plutarch*, who has preserved many rich and uncommon gleanings from Books of ancient History which are now lost:—particularly his Life of *Themistocles, Aristides, Pausanias, Cimon* and *Pericles*, may illustrate part of *Herodotus*, and the first Book of *Thucydides*; those of *Alcibiades, Chabrias, Thrasylbulus*, and *Nicias*, the other Books: with *Xenophon* may be read the lives of *Lysander, Agesilaus, Artaxerxes, Thrasylbulus, Chabrias*, and *Conon*.

Of *Modern Books*, which have given judicious draughts of the *Grecian* History, the principal are,

Sir *Walter Raleigh's* History of the World.

Archbishop *Ussher's* Annals.

Dr. *Edward Simpson's* Chronicon Catholicum.

Dr. *Howell's* General History.

Mr. *Hind* has carried the *Grecian* history down to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Mr. *Stanyan*—to the death of *Philip*.

Mr. *Rollin*—till the *Grecian* power was intirely sunk in that of the *Romans*.

Dr.

Dr. *Prideaux*, in his Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, was led to treat concerning the *Grecian* affairs, by the relation they bear to those of *Persia*.

Universal History, throughout.

The principal author who hath preserved the notices of *Grecian* Antiquities is *Pausanias*, by birth a *Cappadocian*, who died at *Rome*, as it is supposed, about the year of *Christ* 180. He was a great Traveller and was curious in collecting, all along as he went, accounts of persons, places and buildings.

Jobannes Tzetzes, who flourished at *Constantinople* about *A. D.* 1170. hath written a comment upon *Lycophron*, under the name of his brother *Isaac*; which is a curious repository of *Grecian* learning.

The same may be said of several of the other *Scholiasts*, particularly upon *Aristophanes*, and *Apollonius Rhodius*.—A large collection from which kind of writers may be seen in *Suidas's* Lexicon. See also *Eustathius's* Comment on *Homer* and *Dionysius*.

Jobannes Meursius, Professor of History at *Leyden*, died *A. D.* 1639. He was a large collector, out of different Authors, of such passages as relate to the *Grecian* History and Antiquities, which he has commonplaced under proper heads.

Jac. Gronovius hath collected and methodized a great number of detached pieces relative to this subject, in 13 volumes fol. *Ludg. Bat.* 1697.

See also *Ubbo Emmius* in his *Vetus Græcia*, &c.

Car. Sigonius, de *Repub. Atheniensium*.

Sam. Petitus de *Legibus Atticis*.

The marrow of these writers is judiciously exhibited in *Archæologia Græca*, by Archbishop *Potter*.

For

For an account of the *Athenian* Government may be consulted *Xenophon de Atheniensium repub.* *Aristoteles Polit.* L. 5. c. 3. *Plutarchus in Theseo & Solone.* Rollin B. 5. Art. 8. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 174, &c. — of the *Lacedæmonian* Government, *Xenophon de Lacedæmon. repub.* *Plutarchus in Lycurgo.* — in *Lacon. Instit.* *Cragius de Rep. Lacedæm.* Rollin B. 5. Art. 7. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 1. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 73, &c.

A full representation of *Roman* Antiquities may be seen in *Grævius's* noble Collection of Treatises relative to that subject in 12 vols. folio.—The general catalogue of which may be found at the end of the later Editions of *Dr. Kennet's* ingenious and accurate delineation of the Antiquities of *Rome*, 8vo.

Add *Sam. Pitisci Lexicon*, 2 vols. folio.

Dr. Middleton's Life of *Cicero*; from whence the Argument prefixed to the Notes on the Extracts from *Cicero* is borrowed.

The resolution of Grammatical difficulties in the Greek expressions will be further illustrated from

Fr. Vigerus de Idiotismis Gr. Lingua.

Lambert. Bos de Ellipsis.

Devarius de particulis Gr. Ling.

With respect to the *Chronological Table*, I leave it to Others to controvert the Dates of some particular Transactions; which are variously placed by different Chronologers. But I think proper to obviate a Doubt and Difficulty, which sometimes perplexes young Students. They are apt to wonder, that the sacred History of the Bible passes over in silence many transactions which are much celebrated by Classical Writers, and on the other hand, that in the Classics they see not a trace of those affairs which
carry

carry great importance in Holy Scripture. They therefore should know that the Heathen compilers of general History are by no means silent in matters of Sacred History; though their narratives are very erroneous and imperfect; as may be seen in some parts of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Justin*.

But further, the very Dates of the principal transactions of the Old Testament shew that many of them were passed before the *Æra* of most Profane Histories begins. Add to this, that the Classical Histories are narratives of the transactions of particular nations; thus, *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* relate those of the Greeks; *Sallust*, *Livy*, &c. those of the Romans; and so, in the main, is the sacred History confined chiefly to the *Israelites*. But indeed those who are qualified for the search, will discover a surprising connexion between the Sacred History and the Profane; of which Dr. *Humph. Prideaux* has given many curious Instances.

Much more wonderful may it seem that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, separated by no great interval of distance, should know very little of those contemporary transactions, which, in their respective Regions, were greatly noised and celebrated. But it should be considered, that in former times there was no such regular intercourse of Intelligence between neighbouring countries as is now established; or, supposing the transactions not altogether unknown to each other, yet the Writers were not led to speak of them.

CHRIST-CHURCH,
OXFORD.

EDW. BENTHAM.

NOTES

Upon the foregoing EPIGRAMS.

THE Epigrams are intended for a specimen of Greek Inscriptions in honour of military men. The *first* was inscribed upon the Tomb of those *Athenians* who were slain in the battle of *Chæroneæ*. (See *Demosth. ἐπὶ Στιφ.*)

3. Μαράμβροι — δῖμος] sc. ἵνα. Διὰ τὸ, τὴν μὲν ἰδὼν ἀρ-
τὴν ἀσφυλάξαι, δῖμος ἢ τοὺς παλαμῖους ἱμποῦσαι. Or, μὲν ἀρ-
τὴς τῇ δῖμος, by an exertion of bravery attended with danger,
as, *M. Æmilio potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio*
Sallust.

10 Μοῖραν δ' οὐτι φοβᾶν ἔπειν.] *There was a fatality in this dis-*
aster which no bravery or prudence could prevent.

Mr Markland gives a conjectural emendation, thus,

Μαδὲν ἀμάρτυς ἐπὶ Θιῶν, τῇ πάντε κταμένη

Εἰ βιατὴ μῆρας δ' οὐτι φοβᾶν ἔπειν. (sc. οἱ Θιῶν.)

The *second* and *third* Epigrams were inscribed on Monuments e-
rected, by order of the *Amphibolyones* or great Council of *Greece*,
to those *Lacedæmonians* who fell at *Thermopylæ*. They are pre-
served (as is the *fourth*,) by *Herodotus* B. 7. In the *third* some co-
pies read Ω ξῆν', ἀγγίζαν — or Ω ξῆ' ἀπὸ ἀγγίζαν — putting the
Infinitive absolute for the Imperative (or rather *φημι* being under-
stood.) *Diodorus Siculus* hath ἀγγίζαν for ἀπὸ ἀγγίζαν. He hath
also ἀπὸ ἀγγίζαν for ἀπὸ ἀγγίζαν. And so the passage was
read by *Cicero* as appears from his Version. *Tusc. Disp.* B. 1.

Sic, Hesper, Spartæ, nos te hic vidisse jacentes,

Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.

But *chiete* seems a peculiar propriety in ἡμέροι as the *Spartan* edicts
were termed *Pᾶροι*. The *fourth* and *fifth* were written by *Simoe-*
nides. *Diodorus Sic.* hath preserved the *fifth*, in B. 11. where he
expatiates largely upon the celebrated Action which gave occasion
to it. See Notes on *Elysus* p. 45. l. 22. and p. 10. l. 3. The
Metrical disposition of the Greek is made according to *Fulvius Ur-*
sinus. It may not be improper to subjoin a Latin version of it.

His, qui ad Thermopylas cædebant;

Sors celebris contigit, pulcrumque

Fatum; Ara est tumulus

Proavos recordans; exitium vitæ

Eaus. Funerem sed hunc amicum

Nec situs, nec omnia edens

Potabit tempus, virorum fortium.

Hæc vero ædicula incolarum laudem

Gratiæ cepit. Testis horum Leonidas

Spartæ Rex, virtutis magnam

Famam relinquens perpetuamque decem.

NOTES

N O T E S

U P O N

T H U C Y D I D E S.

B. II. §. 34.

THE Character given of *Thucydides* by *Cicero de Orat. B. 2. §. 56.* is this,
*"Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio, mea sententia, facile vicit :
 "qui ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope numerum
 "sententiarum numero consequatur ; ita porro verbis aptus & pressus,
 "ut nescias, utrum res oratione, an verba sententiis illustrentur.*

Tho' one cannot think of shewing the truth of this character of *Thucydides* from so small a specimen of his History as is here reprinted, yet it may be proper to apply the observations therein contain'd, if for no other reason than to apologize for some of the following notes.

I. The Reader must not mistake the *dicendi artificio*, which *Cicero* so justly admires in *Thucydides*, for Grammatical accuracy : for there is scarce any antient writer, who has more deviations from what we should apprehend to be regular Syntax, such as the many Elliptical, others Pleonastick expressions ; Transitions from one number to another ; Substitutions of one tense for another ; Actives for Passives, and Passives for Actives ; all which, tho' they are more or less to be met with in every *Attick* writer, certainly are anomalies, and (however called *Atticisms**) are not the *Atticisms* which we ought to admire and imitate ; tho' I confess that this set of Authors shew so much of their *artificium dicendi*, that any attempt to correct those irregularities by presenting a sentence in its true Grammatical order, would be apt to injure the beauty of the composition, and lower its spirit. — My intention therefore in marking out these deviations is not to insinuate that *Thucydides* ought to have written otherwise, but to serve the purpose of mere explanation.

* See *Cicero*, de opt. gen. Orat.

II. If it be true, that this Author *verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequitur*, it will shew that in rendring his meaning into any other Language, there is almost a necessity to use many more words than what occur in the original.

III. If his *verba sententiis illustrentur*, it will apprise the Reader not to think of hurrying on thro' an Author that is so very much crowded with sentiment : He must exercise a good deal of thought about the subject-matter of which he is reading, in order to come at the full meaning of the expressions : which still adds to the difficulty of translating *Thucydides*, and shews why translations of him are apt to fall short of the sense, as well as spirit, of the original. This is particularly the case of some ambiguous expressions ; but this very ambiguity adds lustre to the composition, inasmuch as each of the senses, which the words are capable of bearing are manifestly to the purpose, and consequently might have been intended by the Writer.

I 1 Εἰ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι] *In the very same winter*, viz. that which followed the first campaign of the *Peloponnesian* war.

2 δημοσίᾳ] viz. *γνώμη*, in pursuance of a resolution taken by the *Publick*.

4 τὰ μὲν ἱστῆ] viz. the bones and ashes which remained after burning the bodies ; which was the general custom of the *Athenians* (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 207.) and appears from *Thucyd.* B. II. to have obtained at this time ; and indeed otherwise it is inconceivable how this solemnity could have been performed. The custom of burning the bodies of those who died in war, and of bringing home their bones is mention'd *Hom. Il.* η. v. 333.

ἀπὸς κατακείμεν αὐτὸς
Τὸ βῆν δ' ἀποπρὸ νῶν, ὡς· ὅστις παύσιν ἔχρησεν
Οἶκον δ' ἄγῃ, ὅταν αὐτὸ νύμμεθαι πύργιδον γαίαν.

ib. *πρὸς δὲ νῶν*] When persons died among their friends, who were ready at hand to perform their last offices, this order was inverted ; the corpse was first wash'd, anointed and properly bedeck'd, and last of all laid out and exposed to publick view. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 184.

ib. *ἀπὸς τῆς*· *ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐκταφικῆς*· ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας. Sch.

5 ἐπιφίει] There was scarce any thing wherein the Antients in most nations, and particularly among the *Grecians*, were more solicitous than to give ample testimony of their respect to deceased persons by funeral solemnities ; and, previously thereunto, by the use of such Ceremonies, as anointing the corpse, adorning it with splendid cloaths, chaplets of flowers, ribbands, &c. and afterwards, when the corpse had been burnt, by washing the bones with wine. (*Archæol.* v. 2.

I

sec. and p. 218 sec.) thus (*Thuc. B. 3*) the *Platæans* speaking of the honours by them annually paid to those who fell in the *Median* war, specify the particulars thus, *ὡς ἀνδραγαθίας ἰσὺς Μυδῶν καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀπορίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀνδραγαθίας ἰσὺς καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀνδραγαθίας* —

5 *τῶν αὐτῶν*, viz. *παραγῶν*, or *φίλων* or *ἑρῶν*.

6 *ἀνδραγαθίας*] This word and *ἀνδραγαθίας* are words appropriated to funerals, to denote the carrying the corpse forth. (*Archæol. v. 2. p. 189.*)

7b. *ὡς περὶ τὰς αὐτῶν*] made of *Cypress*; this being a wood of all others supposed least liable to decay.

7 *φύλων*.] The number of Tribes at *Athens* at first was 4, at this time, 10. Afterwards under the *Macedonian* Government, 12. (*Archæol. v. 1. p. 49* sec.)

ib. *ὡς δὲ καὶ*] *Καὶ* is redundant; inasmuch as there does not appear to have been any thing in the Coffers besides the bones.

8 *ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν*] with a carpet thrown over it.

9 *ὡς ἀνδραγαθίας*] to have their bodies taken up, and brought home.

11 *καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας*] *Solon* wholly excluded all women under 60 years of age from bearing part in funeral solemnities; tho' Relations under that age seem to have been admitted. (*Archæol. v. 2. p. 192.*) Perhaps those women may be meant, whose profession it was to make public lamentations at funerals, and on other sorrowful occasions, and who might be hired for that purpose. Such as were the *Præfices* among the *Romans*. — Allusions to this Custom occur likewise frequently in H. Scripture. *Jer. 10. 17, 18.* (& *Lam. ad loc.*) — *22. 18.* — *48. 17.* — *Ezek. 28. 31.* — *Amos 5. 16.* — *2 Sam. 1. 24.* — *2 Chron. 35. 25.* — *Ecclef. 12. 5.* — *Matt. 9. 23.* comp. with *Mar. 5. 28.*

ib. *ἀνδραγαθίας*] The *ἀνδραγαθίας* were properly songs sung at funeral processions, (*Archæol. v. 2. p. 205*) so called from the ejaculations wherewith they were performed; and from thence the word may be used to comprehend the other most ordinary ways of expressing sorrow at funerals; of which see *Archæol. v. 2. p. 195* sec.

12 *ὡς δὲ ἀνδραγαθίας*] Among the primitive *Grecians*, every family was wont to have their proper burying place: Their graves were nothing but caverns dug in the earth; but those of later ages were more curiously wrought: they were commonly paved with stone, had arches built over them, and were adorned with no less art and care than the houses of the living. (*Archæol. v. 2. p. 219.*) The *ἀνδραγαθίας* here mention'd does not seem to denote any particular monument that was called by that name, any further than as the

I the *Cerameus*, a public suburb, was made use of for the purpose of burying such as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country; and in which place were several *δημίου σήματα* or monuments erected by the Publick to the honour of great men, as may be seen in *Mourfau's* piece intitled *Cerameus*.

ib. *ἀκρόναι.*] That part of *Athens*, which was called the *ἄκρον*, was really no other than the Citadel, at first call'd *Cecropia*, from its builder *Cecrops*, seated upon the top of a high rock about three furlongs in length and one half in breadth, in the midst of a large and pleasant plain. See Dr *Pocock's* Descr. of the East. V. 2. p. 160. Afterwards when the number of inhabitants was increased, the whole Plain was filled with buildings, which were called from their situation *ἰστέον οἰκίας* so that the word *ἀκρόναι* by no means carries so low an import as the word *suburb* commonly does in *English*.

13 *ἡνέχθη τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ*] The word *ἡνέχθη* is to be supplied from the word *ἡνέχθη*; and so in the next line *ταῖς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ* — The expression is complete p. 2. l. 13.

15 *κλειώεις*] viz. the persons who lived at that time. Members of a civil society considered in their collective capacity are spoken of as always the same; tho' the Individuals are different.

ib. *οὐτὸς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ* &c. so *Tellus* in consideration of his eminent courage, was buried in *Eleusis* upon the field of Battle where he fell. *Καὶ μὲν ἀθροῦσι δημοσίᾳ ἐθαψαν αὐτὸν τῆμας ἔπειτα, ἐν ἱερῷ πεδίῳ.* Herodot. L. 1. c. 30.

2 1 *ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ*] The solemnity of a publick funeral was managed by a Committee of the Parents and Brethren and other Relations of the deceased, chosen by the publick assembly of the people for that purpose: and they regulated the Ceremonies, especially the entertainment afterwards. *Plato* places the election in the hands of the Senate of 500. p. 14. l. 13. They perhaps nominated, and the Commonalty approved. See *Damest. de Conat.* §. 86. where he says, *ἡ δὲ μὲν ἐστὶ ἐκτελέσασθαι ἀποδείξασθαι* (very likely *ὡς οὗτος* *Βουλῆς*.) which perhaps may reconcile *Thucydides* with *Plato*.

2 *ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου*] In *English*, no fool, i. e. a man of very good sense. Instances of this kind of *μαῖωσις* are frequent. So *Plat.* *ἐπιστολ.* p. 14. l. 15. *ὁ δὲ μὲν φωνάζει, i. e. ἀπαυδῶν.*

4 *ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ*] The word comprehends all the several previous acts as well as the principal one of interment.

3 *ὅλην τὴν πόλιν*] Throughout the whole course of this war, of which *Thucydides* was writing — From *Plato* p. 35. l. 5. it seems that the Ceremony of a publick commemoration was then become anniversary, whether there was any war or no. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 227.

- 2 5 ὅπῃτε συμφορῇ αὐτοῖς] viz. τὴν δυσχερεῖς, *when any accident or misfortune befell them.*
- 6 Περιμλῆς ὁ Ξωδῖπυ] For his Character see *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 7. 9 &c. *Stanyan* V. 1. 295, 2.
- 7 ἐπιτὴ καὶρὸς ἐλάμδαν] viz. ὀρθῶν. Some copies have it καὶρὸν ἐλάμδαν, *he took the convenient time*: we find a similar expression *AE.* 24, 25. see parallel expressions cited by *Rabael* from *Polybius*.
- 7 ὡς ἐπιπλεῖσθ] (viz. μίγθ) τῷ ὀμίλῳ, *that as many might bear as possible.* — If ἀκούετο was used in a passive signification it should have been ὑπὸ τῷ ὀμίλῳ.
- 12 τὸν ποσειδῶνα καὶ τὸν ἱέρην] *Who to the institution of other funeral solemnities added this of a publick oration.* Some refer it to *Solon*; which account suits better with the expression p. 3. l. 2. τοῖς πάλαι, than *Diodorus Siculus's* or *Dion. Halicarnassensis's*, who place the original of it no higher than the *Persean* war: much less will that expression allow us to suppose *Pericles* himself to have been the introducer thereof immediately after the reduction of *Samos*.
- ib. ὡς καλῶν] viz. ἀσώγῃσιν ὄν. (the Accusative absolute.) *as being an institution well contrived to do honour to the memories of such as are buried from the field of battle.*
- 14 ἔργον — οἷα] To make the construction compleat, τοῖα is to be supplied. N. B. the transition from the singular to the plural: the plural οἷα refers to the several particulars comprehended in the ἔργον or funeral solemnity. ἔργον and λόγος are in these Orations frequently opposed to each other even to a high degree of affectation. — See an instance of this opposed with great propriety, 2 *Cor.* 10: 11.
- 16 δημοσίᾳ] viz. γνώμῃ; or rather περὶ δημοσίου, implied in the participle περὶ δημοσίου.
- 17 εὖτε καὶ χεῖρον ἂν ὅτι περὶ ἡμῶν] viz. καὶ — περὶ. *by being intrusted to the management of a single Orator, be it good or bad*: whereby the reputation of men who have given evidence of their bravery will certainly run some risque of being impaired.
- 18 χεῖρον γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας] *to observe the true μέτρον* dicendi, *which is Truth*; or, *to hit the true medium in speaking*, and give general satisfaction.
- ib. ὅτι ἂν] Some refer it to ἀκούεσθ, i. e. *before a person in whom*: I should rather refer it to the τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, viz. *in the doing which*; or else *on a subject, wherein the appearance of Truth can scarce be confirmed.*
- ib. ὅτι ἂν ἢ δόξῃ τῆς ἀληθείας μέλλει βεβαιῆσθαι] *In doing which one can scarce answer or confirm the expectations with which the Hearers come prejudiced about the Truth.*

- 2 19 *ἐνωσθῆς*] viz. *πὺς ἀρετῆς*. The man who has been an eye-witness of their virtues, and in consequence thereof is become *ἔνως* prejudiced in their favour.
- 20 *ὥς δὲ βύλιται τε καὶ ἰπίζεται*] In comparison of what he wishes to bear said and what he knows ought to be said upon the occasion.
- 21 *ἄπειρος*] The man of no experience in military matters, or, be that is quite a stranger to the affair.
- ib. *ἔτι δὲ*] some things.
- ib. *παραπείθεσθαι*] Supply *νομίζουσιν*. Sch.
- 22 *φύσιν*] His own natural abilities.
- μήχαρ γὰρ τῷδε*] Sallust. *Proem. B. C.* Quæ sibi quisque facilia putat æquo animo accipit, supra ea, veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.
- 24 *αὐτὸς ἑκαυτὸς οἴηται ἰκανὸς εἶναι*] Instead of *ἑκαυτὸς οἴηται ἑαυτὸν ἰκανὸν εἶναι*.
- 3 1 *φθινουμένους*] N. the transition from the singular *αὐτὸς* to the plural.
- 3 *τεχνῶν*] Assequi, to obtain, or rather to hit the mark, not to miss of or disappoint your *βύλησις*, that affectionate regard which You entertain of the persons deceased, in consequence of your *δόξης*, or the honourable opinion You have of their merit.
- See above, p. 2. l. 20. *βύλιται καὶ ἰπίζεται*.
- 7 *ὥς τῷ τοιούτῳ*] viz. *καίρου* or *σώγερτον* or *ἰπαιῖν*.
- 8 *τὸ γὰρ χάρις &c.*] Cic. *pro L. Flacco*. Quæ vetustate eâ est, ut ipsa ex sese suos cives genuisse dicatur, et eorum eadem terra parens, altrix, patria dicatur.
- ib. *ἀλλ' οἱ αὐτοὶ &c.*] They have all along continued possessors. There is scarce any people but what have shewn their vanity in endeavouring to carry the original ancestors of their country as high as possible. The *Athenians* would needs be thought *Ἀπὸχθονες*, sprung from the earth, and to have derived their origin from no other nation. And thus much must be said, that *Attica*, being a rocky and barren country, was less molested than the neighbouring regions, which by their fruitfulness afforded more temptation to invaders. The original plantation of those parts of *Greece* is with reason supposed to have been made by *Javan*, the fourth son of *Japhet*; and it is certain also that they received colonies afterwards from *Egypt*. See *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 2, 3 &c.
- 9 *μήχαρ τῷδε*] viz. *τῷ χρεῖν*.
- 10 *ἄξιον*] Supply *ἔστι*.
- 11 *ὥς οἷς*] i. e. *ὥς τύπος δὲ ἰδέξ.*
- 12 *οὐκ ἀπὸ πόνου* may be referr'd either to *παισάμενοι*, it cost them some pains to acquire it, — or to *συνελελεσθαι*, it cost them pains to secure it to us.
- 13 *τὰ δὲ παλιν αὐτῆς &c.*] If the *πρόσπεσθαι ὅσον ἔχουσιν ἀρχαῖον* was owing to their Forefathers, how can it be said *τὰ δὲ παλιν αὐτῆς*

3

τῆς ἡγεμονίας; — The word ἀρχή may refer to the ancient Dominion of *Attica* itself: Or, the words πρὸ δὲ may be the Speaker's Oratorical correction of what he had just been saying. *Pericles* refers to the acquisitions which had been made during his administration by the reduction of *Eubœa* and *Samos*. See *Stanley* V. 1. p. 311, 316.

14 αἱ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἡλικία] Who are as yet of the stated age of military service. The *Athenians* at 18 years of age began their military service by being appointed to guard the city, with the forts belonging to it: but were not sent to foreign wars 'till 20: the *Lacedæmonians* seldom 'till 30: After 60 it seems to have been usual in most places to allow them liberty to retire from further service. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 6. At *Athens* the whole season for military duty was 42 years, reckoning from 18 to 60. See *Taylor* not. ad *Lyfiam* p. 125.

15 καὶ τὴν πόλιν &c.] The *Athenians* having done signal service to the common safety by repelling the attacks of the *Persians*, were now look'd upon as the most considerable State of *Greece*. And they did not fail to make advantage of this their reputation, by getting themselves invested with the power of providing for the common welfare, and for that purpose of levying tribute upon all their neighbours, and managing the publick treasure; which trust they discharged no less to their own than the publick advantage.

17 ἢ ἂν — ἡμετέροις] For ἡμετέροις ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει.

18 Βασιλεὺς ἢ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἐπιόντι] For πόλεως ὡς Βασιλεὺς ἢ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιόντι.

20 ἐπιτηδευοίς comprehends all that serves to render a man *ἐπιτηδευοίς*: and inasmuch as education does in a more especial manner fit persons for their respective business, it comes to signify *Education*.

23 ἐπὶ τῇ παρόντι] viz. κρίνῃ, or πρᾶγμα, or ἐπαίνῃ.

25 εὐμφορεῖν αὐτῇ ὅμιλῳ] For εὐμίλῳ — or, imagining it to be useful that the whole assembly should bear.

4

1 πολιτεία] *Solon* in settling the Constitution of the *Athenian* government endeavour'd to poise one part of State against the other: so that what the meaner sort of people wanted in wealth and honour was sufficiently made up to them in their share of the Government. See *Stanley* V. 1. p. 181.

ib. ἢ ζήλοισι] as that of *Lacedæmon* did; the laws whereof were borrowed from the *Cretans* and *Egyptians*. *Stan.* V. 1. 70, 72.

3 ὅμοιος] Supply κατὰ.

ib. 2. τὸ ἐς ὀλίγους αἰῶνες] Because we do not manage the affairs of State with a view to the advantage of a Few. αἰῶνες for δαιμονίαι, viz. πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. — The preposition ἐς determines the persons here spoken of to be the object of the administration of

4

ren: A specimen whereof may be given in the yearly custom which they had of whipping their Boys at the altar of *Diana Taurica*, which they would bear patiently 'till the blood ran; and sometimes their emulation carried them on 'till they dy'd on the spot: This was not done by way of punishment, but in order to inure them to undergo hardships and fatigues. The same purpose was intended to be served by their going barefoot, with their heads shaven, and by their fighting with one another: Add to this, that they were constantly under the inspection of some one to exercise immediate command over them. And in this kind of minority they seem to have lived 'til they were 30 years of age. *Stan-yan* V. 1. p. 79 &c.

14 τὰ ἴδια] Supply κατὰ.

15 τῶν τι ἀπὸ ἐκ ἀρχῇ ὄντων] of those persons at all times, who happen to be invested with authority. So Xenoph. K. II. Δ. ἵνα εἰδῶσι τὸ ἀπὸ καιρῶν. ut cognoscerent quid tempore quolibet fieri oporteret. and again K. II. H. παρὰ τῷ ἀπὸ ἐν βασιλείᾳ, regi qui quovis tempore rerum potitur.

19 τῶν πῶτον πλάγας &c.] The Athenians seem to have outdone all other people in the number of their Festivals; nor did the frequency of them abate any thing of the solemnity and charges at their observation. Most of them were celebrated at the publick expence. *Archæol.* v. 1. B. 2. c. 19, 20.

ib. τῇ γνώμῃ] upon deliberate principle — out of a principle of good policy.

20 θυσίας] Of the Græcian sacrifices, see *Archæol.* v. 1. B. 2. c. 4.

ib. διηκίοις] annual; or, throughout the year. The Scholiast has δι' ὅλου ἔτους θύουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατ' ἐκάστην πλὴν μιᾶς ἡμέρας.

ib. νομίζοντες] the same as κατὰ τὰ πάσης νόμιμα ἡμέρας ἀσκούσιν. Sch.

21 οἱ κατ' ἡμέραν] Supply γινόμενον.

22 ἀπληροῦς] banishes every vexatious uneasy thought.

ib. ἐκτιστέχεται ὃ ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὴν πᾶντα.] The Athenians greatly improved their trade and navigation by means of their colonies and settlements upon all parts of the sea coast, as well throughout *Asia minor*, and the Islands of the *Ægean* Sea, as in *Thessaly*, *Macedon* and *Thrace*: The consequence whereof was the introduction of Luxury in all its shapes. — At *Lacedæmon*, *Lycurgus* took effectual care to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as might tend to effeminacy and excess, by prohibiting the use of gold and silver-money. See *Stan-yan* V. 1. p. 77:

4 εἰσπράττει]

- 4 *ἀσπείων*] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.
 5 3 *οὐκ ἔστι* (viz. *χρῆνος*) *ἔτι*] *never* — *no instance can be produced*.
 ib. *ἐξηλασίην*] *Lycurgus's* institutions discouraged the intercourse of *Foreigners* among the *Lacedæmonians*, to prevent their introducing a corruption of manners, and breaking in upon the constitution of the Government. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 78.
 ib. *μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος*] *the privilege of our Schools or Theater, any kind of instruction or spectacle*.
 6 ὁ μὴ *κρυφθῆναι*] For *ὁ μὴ κρυφθῆναι*, or at least *μὴ κρυφθῆναι* seems redundant; for ὁ *ἂν τις ἰδῶν* (*μὴ κρυφθῆναι*) is sufficient.
 7 *ταῖς περὶ οἴκους καὶ ἀπάταις*] The *Lacedæmonian* youth were carefully trained up at home to the politick part of war by being habituated to their Watches, Guards, Ambuscades, with other wiles and stratagems, to give them a notion of what they were afterwards to do in the field. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 80, 81, 84.
 9 *ἐπιπίνειν ἀσκήσας*] See p. 4. l. 13.
 10 τὸ ἀνδρεῖον *μιμνῆσθαι*] *follow after fortitude, τὸ τοῖς ἀνδράσι ἄσκειν*. Sch. Or, it may be, *pass on to the state of manhood* the same as τὸ ἀνδρῶν *τίλκε*, *Plat.* 34. l. 23. Or, *εὐθὺς νῆαι ὄντες, in their youth undergo the service of men*.
 11 *τεκμήριον δὲ*] more fully, *τεκμήριον δὲ τὸτ' ἐστίν*, or, *τούτου ἂν εἴη τὸ ἐπὶ πόλεμον*.
 12 *κατὰ ἑκάστας*] *by separate parties and detachments*.
 ib. *μὲν πάντων*] *with their whole united forces*.
 13 *τῶν πέλους*] viz. *ἀνθρώπων*.
 15 *ἄθροια τῇ δυνάμει*] *any large and considerable body of our forces*.
 17 *ὡς τῇ γῇ*] antithetical to *ὡς τῇ θάλασσῃ* implied in the word *ναυπηγῶν*.
 18 *ἐπιπίνειν*.] It was the constant practice of the *Athenians*, at first from necessity and afterwards from policy, to spread themselves in Colonies throughout the several coasts of *Thrace, Macedon, Thessaly, Peloponnesus, Asia Minor* and the *Isles* of the *Ægean Sea*: from which practice they derived immense advantages in commerce. Very early, *Strabo* L. 8. remarks, *ἔτι πολυαυθροῦσιν τὴν χώραν σκωπῶσι τότε, ὥς καὶ Ἀθηναίων τῶν Ἴωνων ἔπειλαν ἕς Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι*. This policy of the *Athenians* is particularly to be regarded to see the force of *Demosthenes's* reasoning against *Philip*.
 19 *ὡς οὐ μὲν ἔχουσιν*] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.
 20 *ἐκκρίνιντες*] Supply the word *φασὶν* or *λέγουσιν*, which is implied in the word *ἰσχυροῦσιν*; for the word *ἰσχυροῦσιν* itself can not here be properly made use of.
 21 ὁ *μαθημῖα μαθεῖν* &c.] *If then we men of ease and pleasure (as the Lacedæmonians are pleased to call us) rather than habituated*

- 5 *biuated to toil and hard service, can readily face danger, not so much out of a servile compliance with penal laws —*
 22 *περιζήνεται ἡμῖν]* *we have however, notwithstanding our industry, so much spirit and industry remaining.*
 23 *μὴ ἀσθενήσμεν]* *not to faint at the approach of future difficulties, Or, not to anticipate our future troubles by a course of previous hardships, so wearing out our strength and spirits before we encounter them.*
 25 *μὴ ἀταλαστῆς]* *Regularly it should be ἀταλαστῆς.*
 6 1 *ἡνικαζέει]* *Supply φημι or περιζήνεται.*
 2 *φιλακαλῆμαι &c.]* *we have the art of appearing like Gentlemen of taste without extravagance, and as Scholars without effeminacy. Alluding to what is objected to the study of Philosophy, that it enervates the mind, and renders men unfit for active life. Socrates and Xenophon particularly distinguish'd themselves as Soldiers. Stanley V. 2. p. 60, and 40. Rollin V. 3. p. 297, and 409.*
 4 *ἢ λόγον κίμην]* *rather than for ostentation to make ourselves talked of.*
 5 *αἰχρῆν]* *Supply νομίζομεν.*
 7 *ὡς ἔργα]* *to Trades and Husbandry; for as the former were called ἔργαται, so the latter were Γωργοί. Archæol. v. 1. p. 50.*
 8 *ὡς τι μὲν τῶνδ' ἐμύνητο &c.]* *All Freemen of Athens were expected to give their attendance at the publick Assemblies, and when they became remiss in it, the Magistrates used their utmost endeavours to compell them, shutting up all the Gates of the City excepting that thro' which they were to pass to the place of the Assembly; and sometimes they proceeded so far as to fine those that behaved negligently, and to reward those that came thither early. Archæol. v. 1. p. 94. This busy disposition continued to be their character in St Paul's time, Act. 17. 21. All the Athenians spent their time in nothing but hearing and telling some new thing.*
 9 *ὡς ἀπὸ γένους ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων]* *This principle was carried so far among the Athenians, that in the case of seditions and civil wars it was highly penal in any man to keep neuter, and not to join with one or other of the contending parties; Archæol. v. 1. p. 182. See also Lett. Lyfiac. c. 11.*
 ib. *καὶ αὐτοὶ]* *And We (not caring to trust to other people for the management of our publick affairs, We ourselves have all of us our full employment therein) ἡμεῖς κελίμεν, either we exert ourselves, as Speakers, in debating and examining, ἢ ἐκδομύμεθα ὡς τὸ πρῶτον, or, as Hearers, in considering and forming a right apprehension of what we are to undertake.*

- 6 10. λόγος] The *Lacedæmonians* were as remarkable for their taciturnity and few words, as the *Athenians* were for their love of public harangues.
- 11 ἀλλὰ] Supply βλάδιον ἡγύμνη. — *Sallust. &c. de B. Jug.* At ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam Consules facti sunt, acta majorum et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint, homines præposterari. Nam gerere quàm fieri tempore posterius, et atque usu prius est.
- 13 ὅτι πολλοὶ &c.] *Sall. de B. Jug.* Ac sane, quod difficillimum imprimis, et proelio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio: quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.
- 14 ὃ] i. e. καθ' ὃ, in which particular.
- 17 ἀφ' οὗ] i. e. ἀφ' οὗ συνεστήθησαν μηχανήματα.
- ib. καὶ συνεστήθησαν] for συνεστήθησαν.
- 18 καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀρετῇ] i. e.] καὶ αὗτ' ἐν &c. as to the exercise of that, which particularly distinguishes the man of virtue, Beneficence.
- ib. οὐ γὰρ χάρις ἐστὶν &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* magisquæ dandis quàm accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. and again, *Cæsar* beneficiis ac munificentiâ magnus habebatur.
- 20 βουλομένης } i. e. φίλος ἐστι.
- 21 ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν] ἵνα οὐκ ἔστι.
- ib. ἐκ μέρους] q. d. the edge of his generosity is taken off and blunted.
- 22 ἀλλὰ — ἀποδίδωμι] i. e. ἀλλὰ ἐν ἰσότητι ἀποδίδωμι.
- ib. οὐκ ἐν χάριτι] that it will not entitle him to thanks.
- 23 ἐν μέρους λογισμῷ] the computation of advantage.
- ib. τὸ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος τῷ πλεονεκτήσει] in confidence of their generosity whom we oblige.
- 7 1 ἐκ τῶν πάντων] viz. πάντων, to sum up all, bring all to a point.
- ib. τῇ πόλει πᾶσι] that our City taken in the whole.
- 2 καθ' ἑκάστην] each man in his single capacity.
- 3 παρ' ἡμῶν] viz. ἐκ τῶν ἡμῶν, γενέσθαι, &c. men that go out from among us, viz. to the public Games of Greece.
- ib. ἐν πλείοσι ἀθλοῖς] viz. in the several kinds of bodily exercises, such as Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, Wrestling, Racing. *Solon* to encourage the *Athenians* in these feats of activity enacted an allowance of 100 Drachms (3l 4s 7d) out of the public Treasury to every *Athenian*, who obtained a prize in the *Isthmian* Games, and 500 to such as were victors in the *Olympian*. Afterwards the latter of these had their maintenance in the *Prytanæum*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 441. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. art. 2. §. 10. Such rule of good Policy is prescribed *Xen. K. Π. α.* Ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔρχεται, ὡς αὐτοὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔρχεται.

- 7 πῆς τῆς ἀδελφείας, μέγιστον ἀν ποιεῖν εἰς ἀσκήσασθαι ἔχοντα, ὅτε, ὅπως δίδωται, ἔχον ἀν ποιεῖν ποικίλοις χρεῖσιν.
- 5 εἰ τῇ παρῶν] viz. ἐκείνῃ.
- 7 ἢ οὐ] viz. οὐκ.
- ib. ἀπὸς κρείστων ἐς ποῖον ἔχοντα] upon being brought to the trial or test is found to exceed the character which it bears.
- 8 ἀγωνίασθαι ἔχον] i. e. παρῆχον, affords ground to an Enemy to conceive an indignation, ὅφ' οἷον, at the meanness of the persons by whom he suffers.
- 9 τῇ ὑποθέσει κατὰ μιν] ἔχον, i. e. παρῆχον, affords just reason to its Vassals to complain.
- 10 σημείων] may be interpreted proofs from fact. — μέγιστοι, are living witnesses, vouchers, &c.
- 12 ὅδιν ἀσπιδόμοι] for κατ' ὅδιν, i. e. ἐδαμῶς ἀσπιδόμοι.
13. οὐτὶς Ομήρου ἰσχυρῶς] Cic. pro Arch. O Te felix, qui Homerum virtutis tuæ præconem nactus es. The character which Homer gives of the Athenians Il. B. 546 &c. is certainly an advantageous one. He there speaks of their City, as ἐν κρήμινι — of their Country, as fruitful, the seat of the Goddesses of Culture *Agourā*, ἐν αὐτῇ πῶς τῇ — and of the People, in the person of the first Former of their state, as μεγαλήτορος — ὁ ποτὶς Ἀθήνη θρήνη Διὸς θυγάτηρ. — and in that of their General *Menestheus*, as scarce to be paralleled for military skill. But in the course of the Poem, *Menestheus* and his followers the Athenians are seldom mentioned; while several other *Græcian* Leaders have separate Books assigned them for the display of their achievements. And this may be a probable reason, why the Athenian Orator here seems to undervalue all the encomiums that Homer's Pen could give.
- 14 ἢ δὲ ἔργων ὑπερβολὴν ἢ ἀλλοτρίαν βλάβει] for ἢ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερβολὴν βλάβει τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν, the too high opinion which a Poet may raise of the achievements, will hurt or impair the credit of what was really achieved. Or else, the truth as it will appear upon examination, will destroy the high opinion which the Reader of such a Poem may have preconceived.
- 15 κατηννομήσαντες] For κατηννομήσασιν, and so ἐξυπονοησάντες.
- 18 δικαιοσύνης μὴ ἀφαιρηθῆναι αὐτῇ] i. e. ἢ δίκαιον νομιζόντες ἀφαιρηθῆναι αὐτῇ, not thinking it right, that it should be deprived of those great advantages, which are just before mentioned, its δυνάμεις &c.
- 19 πάντας πᾶν] either each particular person of those who survive; or, that they who survive will be ready to undergo every thing that may happen.
- 23 ὁμοίως] For ὁμοίως; or rather supply παρῶν.
- 8 2 ἰσχυρῶς — ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων] The meaning seems to require ἰσχυρῶς τοῦ λόγου τῶν ἔργων, the facts will not be found upon

8 upon enquiry to be equal to the commendation which is given of them.

ib. ἰσθρῆπος &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* In primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum quod facta dictis sint exæquanda.

3 δοκεῖ δὲ δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν] *seems to manifest the bravery of a man, i. e. a true manly bravery.*

5 ἢ νῦν τῶνδε καὶ θάνατον] not barely the death, but *the whole course of that military service, in which they lost their lives, this αὐτῶν τε μηνύουσι, as it first discovered the bravery of these men, καὶ τελευταίας βεβαιόουσιν, so it gave to it the seal of final confirmation.*

6 τοῖς πᾶσι χεῖρας] οἷον, κλοπῇ, μηχανῇ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. *Sch.*

7 κηρὸν ἀφαισίουσιν] *wiping out the stain or memory of their misconduct.*

8 ἀφίλησαν] *For ἀφίλησαν ἂν, they may do it more service; Or, in fact they have done their country more service.*

ib. ἰδίαν] viz. ἀπορρημάτων.

10 οὐτὶ πτωχὸς ἐλπίδι] *nor was induced by the hopes of poverty, i. e. the hopes which poor men are apt to indulge, that by continuing to flee from poverty, they may at length surmount the difficulties of it and grow rich.*

12 πτωχείαν παθεινέμεν αὐτῶν λαόντις] *considering the taking vengeance of their Enemies to be much more desirable than either those situations of life.*

14 μὲν αὐτῶν] viz. τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἑκαστῶν.

ib. τῶν ᾗ] viz. ἑκάτερον καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν τὴν πτωχὴν ἐφίετο, *and make this their road to wealth.*

15 ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπιτίψαντες] q. d. τὸ ἐκατέρωθεν ἢ πᾶσι, τῷ μὲν ἢ ἐλπίδι ἐπιτίψαντες, *success they knew to be a thing uncertain; this therefore they committed to hope, or contented themselves with hoping the best.*

16 αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον σφίσι αὐτοῖς] viz. *the nature of their duty and the dangers attending it.*

18 οὐδέν] viz. ἑαυτοῦ.

19 δι' ἐλαχίστου &c.] ἐν βραχεὶ καιρῷ ἀκμαζόντες ἐν εὐδορίᾳ καὶ ἔχθρῳ διελθόντες, οἱ ἀκμαζόντες ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ἐλπίδι ἑκάτερον, μάλιστα ἢ γὰρ ἑκάτερον καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν (ἀκμαζόντες) ἀπηλλάγησαν τὴν σφωρὴν διέσπασαν, i. e. ἀπώσαν. *Sch. in one moment of time, at the very turn and crisis of their fortune in battle they were released, rather from their apprehensions of hope than of fear, for whatever they had of the former, they had none at all of the latter.*

23 ἀσφαλιστέον] viz. τὴν πόλιν.

9 6 ὁδουμυμνέουσιν] *It should regularly be ὁδουμυμνέουσιν, for it is a continuation of the reflection σκεπτικῶς, l. 1. and ἡμετέρους, l. 4. the words ὅταν ὁμῶν μεγάλη δόξα ἦται are only parenthetical;*

9

tical; yet the dative *ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν* therein influences the succeeding participle.

ib. *ὅτι ταλμάντες &c.*] *Sall. B. Cat.* Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere — demi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque libidini obnoxius.

9 *ἀξιώτερος*] For *ἐξωτέρω*, and so *περισσότερος*, for *περισσότερον*.

ib. *κρίματι ἑαυτῶν*] *the noblest contribution that could be made, viz.* that of their own persons. so *Xenoph. K. H. ζ.*

ὡς τίς πο' αὐτῶν καλλίστος ἕρως ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἢ ὡς τοῖς; οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸς ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν παρὰ ἀνδρῶν ἀλλήλων ἀπονεύειν.

15 *ἐπὶ τῇ μὴ ἀποσκευῇ*] It was common to beautify sepulchres with pillars of stone, which frequently contained inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever else was remarkable in the Deceased. *Archæol. v. 2. p. 221.*

16 *ὅτι τῇ μὴ ἀποσκευῇ*] viz. *χωρῇ. a country which does not belong to them; it being reckon'd a great misfortune die, or at least to be buried in a foreign country.*

17 *εὖ ἔργον*] *any work, any such funeral solemnity as we are now performing* (as the word is used p. 2. l. 14. and also by *Plato* and *Lyfias*) or, *any sepulchre erected with much labour.*

19 *μὴ ἀπολεσθῆναι*] *do not overlook, not think yourselves unconcern'd in.*

20 *ὡς ἵππας οὐκ &c.*] *Sall. B. Cat.* quibus — neque spes bona ulla.

21 *ἡ ἀντιθέσις μὲν ἀντιθέσις*] *the contrary change, viz. from happiness to misery, from honour to disgrace.*

ib. *ὡς εἰς — μεγάλην τὴν ἀπορίαν*] *in whom the difference is truly great.*

23 *ἀνδρῶν καὶ φρονήσεως ἕρως*] *a man of spirit.*

24 *ἡ ἐν τῇ μὴ τῇ μεγαλειότητι κακότητι*] Q. whether it might not rather be written *ἡ ἐν τῇ μὴ &c.* (as p. 6. l. 1.) the suffering a diminution in any respect, especially if the doing so be attended with or occasioned by cowardice and effeminacy.

ib. *ὡς μὴ ἰσχυρῶς — δυνάμει*] *death occasioned by the vigorous exertion of our strength and courage, or, surviving while we are in vigour.*

10 *μὴ ἀντιθέσις ἵππας*] *the common hopes either of coming in for a share of the solemnity of an honourable interment in their own country, together with their comrades who fell with them, (to which purpose the expression seems used by Lyfias p. 40. l. 5.) or the common hopes of having served their country.*

ib. *ἀντιθέσις ἵππας ἀντιθέσις*] q. d. *ὡς ἀντιθέσις ἐν τῇ γλῶσσῃ ἐστὶν ἀντιθέσις.*

- 4 ἐπίστανται τσαφίτης] q. d. ἐπίστανται ἰαυτὲς τσαφίται, *they know that by the course of* (their breeding up and therefore of) *human life, they are subject to a variety of misfortunes.*
- ib. τὸ εὐτυχὲς, οἱ ἂν εὐπεισιπώτης λάχουσιν &c.] more distinctly thus, τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς ἐπίστανται αὐτῶν εἶναι, οἱ ἂν εὐπεισιπώτου πρὸς λάχουσιν, ὡς οἱ οἶδ' ὅτι τῶν εὐπεισιπώτης ἔλαχον τελευτῆς, (ὁμῶς δὲ εὐπεισιπώτης λύπης ἔλαχον, parenthetically.)
- 6 ὃς ἐν οἷς &c.] *and whose happiness and life have been made commensurate to each other, they being no less happy in the circumstance of their deaths than in their lives.*
- 7 πῶς] viz. ὁμῶς μὴ ἀναιμιῶσαι πῶτα.
- 9 ὁ λύπη] i. e. ὁ οἶδ' ὅτι λύπη ἐστίν.
- 13 ὅσων ἦντων] of those who are now no more.
- 14 ὃς τῇ πάλῃ δόξαν] viz. οἱ ἐπιχειρήματα λέγει ἔσονται.
- 15 ὃς γὰρ εἰς πᾶσι πᾶσι] Agreeably hereunto it was one necessary qualification for being elected into the office whether of *Στρατηγός* or *Ἐπὶ τοῖς* (*General* in the Army or *Manager* of publick debates,) that a man had children born in lawful marriage; they being look'd upon as the best security for their Parents good behaviour. *Dinarch. Orat. contra Demosth.*
- 16 εἰς τὸ μέγεθος] viz. μέγεθος, or τέρμα.
- 17 αἰετός] because there were many chances against their ever arriving at old age.
- 18 ὁ γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰετός &c.] *Cic. de Senect.* Me ipse consolabar, existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. *and again, de Amicit.* Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo (*Scipione*) occidisset, desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem: sed nec illa extincta sunt, stanturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea: et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen afferret mihi ætas ipsa solatium: diutius enim jam in hoc desiderio esse non possum.
- 19 τὸ δὲ φιλότιμον] referring to the love of honour implied in τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ περὶ τοῦ αἰετός, q. d. for if you cherish in your minds this love of honour, as you must do, if you reflect with pleasure upon your Children's glory, this will secure you against the inconveniences of old age.
- 20 ἐν δόξαν & ἐλαίας] viz. μέγεθος, q. d. and indeed there is no comparison between the pleasure arising to the mind during that season of life, in which age disqualifies men from being further serviceable in the world, I say there is no comparison between the pleasure arising from the love of honour, and that arising from the gratification of avarice, that common infirmity of old people.

23 ἀεὶ μέλαι τ' αἰῶνα] viz. ἀληθυσμένον.

24 καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς] supposing you had an extraordinary degree of virtue.

I I ¹ φθόρος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι ὥς τὸν ἀντίπαλον] for so long as men live they never fail regarding any Rival of theirs with envy.

3 Εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ καὶ γυναικείας τὴν ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χρεῖα ἴσονται, μνησθῆναι] more fully thus, εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ καὶ μνησθῆναι τὴν ἀρετῆς τῆς ὁμοειδέως πάντας γυναικῶν, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χρεῖα ἴσονται. The Scholiast has τῆς σφραγίστης· μὴ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ πῶς γυναικῶν ἔστιν. ἢ γὰρ ἀνδρείω, ἢ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἢ φρόνησιν. — and agreeably hereunto Fr. Portus, *mulierum rectum institutum est domi se continere, pudice & honeste vitam agere &c.* But Q. whether the γυναικεία ἀρετὴ is not rather their natural proneness to the softer passion of pity and concern, which certainly argues a virtuous disposition, tho' it may be indulged too far: Such extravagant indulgence he cautions them against, by telling them τὴν ὑπερχύσεως φύσεως μὴ χρεῖσσι γίγνεσθαι, that their not behaving on this occasion unworthy of their noble descent, their being Athenians by birth, (as the word φύσις intimates in Plato's Epitaph. p. 16. l. 17) would be much for their glory, καὶ οἷς (or as some copies read it ἡς) and especially as this was a particular in which the other sex had little opportunity to signalize themselves, whether to their credit or discredit. —

Plutarch, in his treatise *Γυναικῶν Αἰτιολογία*, refers to this passage: but, citing it I suppose by memory, misrepresents it, as if *Thucydides* was here describing the most excellent Woman to be her, ἡς αὖ ἐλάττω ἢ πλεον τοῖς ἄλλοις ψόφῃ πλεον ἢ ἐπαινοῖς λόγῳ. — Xenoph. K. II. 5. hath a similar expression. *Αἰσχροδιδασκαλίας* — ἐφάνη μὲν καὶ πλεον καὶ ἐλάττω, ὅτι καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπερχύσεως quippe qui liberalis esset etiam a naturâ

10 αὐτῶν τὴν παιδείαν &c.] The Children of such as sacrificed their lives for the glory and preservation of the Athenian commonwealth were carefully educated at the publick charge, μέχρις ἡέως, 'till the age of eighteen years, when they commenc'd Εφηβοί. (*Archæol.* v. i. p. 48.) Two years after they were introduced at a publick meeting of the Δημότιοι (men of the same borough) and enter'd in a register called *ἀντιπαλῶν χρηματιστῶν*, containing the names of all persons of that borough who were of age to succeed to the αἵματι, or inheritance of their Fathers. At this time they were presented with a compleat suit of armour, and brought forth before the people, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them, that hitherto in remembrance of their Fathers merits the Commonwealth had educated these young men, but now dismissed them so armed, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers examples; and for their further encouragement they had the honour of the first seats

at

II at shews, and all publick meetings. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 116, 346.

10 το λῆν' αὐδὲ] viz. ἔχειν.

ib. δημοσίᾳ] viz. ἐφ' ἧ, implied in the verb ἔχειν.

11 τιφάνοι] Alluding to the Crowns usually bestow'd upon the victors in the *Olympick* Games; to which this glorious contest, who should deserve best of his Country, was analogous.

12 ἀντιθέσθαι] holding forth or setting before them, by way of encouragement and incitement.

N O T E S

U P O N

P L A T O and L Y S I A S.

TO commemorate the virtues of brave men is an employment no less worthy of the greatest Genius, than it is interesting to every Lover of his Country. To have this task assign'd him by publick Authority must be doubly pleasing a Man of Parts. But without expecting the honour of such a call, a man may naturally enough be led to exercise his thoughts upon the subject, whether out of emulation of other men's performances, or from the desire of doing justice to such valuable characters, as he thinks have not been successfully attempted by others.

To one or other or both of these principles we owe the funeral Oration of *Plato*, and those of *Isocrates* intitled Πανηγυρίαις and Παναθηναϊαίς: the former of which is said to have cost him the labour of 10 or 15 years. Whether *Lyfias*'s was ever spoken in publick or no, is uncertain; 'tis probable it was not, at least by himself; for he did not enjoy the full rights of common Citizen at *Athens*, and wanted the ἀξίωμα, mention'd by *Thucydides*, p. 2. l. 2. be a necessary qualification for that honourable office: He therefore most probably compos'd it, either for the use of his Scholars, or for his own amusement, as a model for Orations of this kind; and in fact, *Isocrates* thought it worth his while to pursue the same plan even to a servile exactness. And to me there seems some ground to imagine that *Plato* in composing His funeral Oration, had a particular view to those performances of *Lyfias* and *Isocrates*.

Pericles had exhausted what was to be said in praise of the *Athenian* people, and the constitution of their Government. *Lyfias* therefore enters upon their History, a subject which was not so much

much as glanced at by *Pericles*. *Plato* seems to have approv'd of the plan, but to have thought that it might be pursued to greater advantage, especially by introducing a more particular detail of publick transactions: This he does with great conciseness and clearness; there being above double the number of principal facts refer'd to in *Plato's Oration* beyond what occur in that of *Lyfias*. (Tho' here we must observe an oversight in *Plato*, that he makes *Socrates* in this funeral oration refer to some facts, which 'tis generally agreed happen'd after his death: This is usually plac'd in the year before *Cbrist* 399, whereas the peace of *Antalcidas*, evidently refer'd to, was not concluded 'till 13 years after.)

Several passages in the proeme plainly intimate that *Plato* had some or more Rhetoricians of his own time in view, p. 13. he ridicules their conceit of their own abilities, and the false kinds of eloquence into which they were betray'd, — the airs they gave themselves in putting off as extemporal harangues what had cost them great pains and premeditation to compose, p. 14. l. 6. — their vanity in keeping their rules of composition, and the copies they gave their scholars as mighty secrets, p. 15. l. 13. and p. 36. l. 5.

2. And as to this particular oration, what *Lyfias* says by way of Apology for the imperfection of his performance, his being obliged *ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀμειψῆν λόγον*, p. 36. l. 4. is rallied by *Plato's* *ἄνθρωπος ἰσχυρὸς τῶν λόγων περὶ τὸν νεκρὸν*.

3. *Plato*, p. 15. l. 21. intimates that an oration of this kind should begin from the point, viz. treating of the deceased themselves, and not, as *Lyfias* does, with an Apology for the speaker.

4. The *ἡμετέροις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περιττός*, which *Plato* rallies, p. 13. is justly enough applicable to *Lyfias's* introducing antithetical expressions to a high degree of affectation.

5. What *Plato* says of the impropriety of condoling with the friends of the deceased, the *ἡμετέριον*, is a direct censure of what *Lyfias* much enlarges upon, p. 55. *ἄνθρωπος τῶν περὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἐπιτελεῖται, καὶ τὸν περὶ τὸν νεκρὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ βλάπτει*.

To which may be added another circumstance, that *Plato* in another of his pieces (*Pbædrus*) has a direct criticism or banter upon another oration of *Lyfias*.

It must be confess'd after all, that there is not any oration of *Lyfias* that seems less subject to exception than this Funeral one: And if we admit the justice of * *Cicero's* character of him, he cannot fail of engaging our attention, being a most consummate master of Oratory, equally fitted to do justice to subjects of every

* *Lyfias* Disertissimus, *Cic. de Orat.* l. 1. 118. Egregie subtilis atque elegans. — Orator prope perfectus, pressus, enucleatus, limatus, grandis, incitatus, ornatus, elatus, gravis tam verbis quam sententiis, *Brut.* 17. Acutus facetus brevis. *ib.* 31. Venuissimus atque politissimus; nihil habet insolens aut ineptum. *Orat.* 15.

kind; the finest speaker, exquisitely delicate and elegant both in his expression and sentiments, close, perspicuous, polite, spirited, pompous, lofty, pointed, concise, full of humour or grave, as his subject requires.

Plato likewise is by *Cicero* no less recommended to our esteem. At the same time those, who are us'd to those high finish'd pieces, which *Cicero* has prefix'd to some of his Dialogues by way of Proemes, may perhaps be disgusted at that very great plainness and simplicity with which the Dialogue-part is here conducted; they may also censure that frivolous kind of reasoning which he falls into p.17. (tho' indeed all that could be offer'd in support of his Countrymen's favourite notion of being αὐτίχθους must be frivolous.) — But whatever justice there may be in any of these strictures, both orations are well worthy the perusal, particularly that Προσπορεία of *Plato*, p. 30. than which nothing can contain better sense, or be work'd up more oratorically.

I have only to add, that I have placed *Plato's* oration *second* in Order, altho' I suppose it to have been compos'd after *Lyfias's*; because he intimates, that it was a sort of supplément to *Pericles's* oration, p. 15. l. 7.

- 12 ¹ Μοῖσεν] *Socrates* had a son by his wife *Myrton* of this name, *Diog. Laert.* l. 2. 26. and *Suid.* — From the air of the Dialogue, and p. 12. l. 7. it can scarce be his son who is introduced as speaking. I may here observe, that the Writers usually consulted upon such names as are here incidentally (Αρχῖν and Δίων p. 14. Κρίνος, and Λαμπερὶς and Ἀμφών) namely *Diogenes Laertius* and *Suidas*, afford no satisfactory account of either, more than what may be collected from the manner in which their names are here mention'd: excepting indeed as to Ἀμφών, who is generally celebrated as a man of distinguish'd eminence for his skill in oratory, contrary to what is intimated p. 14.
- ib. Ἀγορῆ] viz. the old Forum within the city, in which were frequently held the publick Assemblies of the people; though the chief design of it was for the purpose of buying and selling. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37.
- ib. ἡ ἀγορῆ] viz. ἡγορῆ.
- 3 Βουλευτήριον] In the old Forum there were several Βουλευτήρια, or publick Halls, where each Company of tradesmen met and consulted about their affairs. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37. — The Βουλευτήριον here mention'd is the *Senate-House*, where the Senate of 500 met to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the general assembly of the people, and to transact several things by their own authority. See *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 97 &c. By *Menexenus's* being there it appears

- I 2** pears that the transactions and debates of that council were not kept private; for he was not yet *ὁ ἀρχῆς*.
3 *τί μέλει σοι*] viz. *ἀγνούμενος ἀφ' ἑκαστοῦ βουλ.* *what could induce you of all people in the world to —*
4 *ἐπὶ τῇ — ἀνῆλ*] *to have arrived at the last and biggest stage of —*
10 *ἡ βουλὴ*] See *Thucyd.* p. 2. l. 1.
11 *ὅτις*] *some body or other to speak.*
13 *ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν*] viz. *ἡμίτερον.* this Senate met for the most part every day. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 99.
15 *πολλὰ καὶ κινδυνώδη καλὸν*] *sure it must be a glorious and desirable thing &c πολλὰς πόδας in many respects to —*
I 5 *παρεσκευασμένων*] used in the active sense; or else *men who are prepared* (*κτ*) *λόγους.*
6 *ἐφ' ἧς τις ἐνίμωσι ποικίλονται*] *diversifying and thereby embellishing their panegyrick with fine words.*
12 *ἐκάστοτε*] *upon every such occasion —*
13 *ὁ τὸ παρεχόμενος*] viz. *χεῖρ.*
14 *καὶ οἷα ἔχῃ πολλὰ, αἷα*] Q. whether *αἷα* is not a gloss for *οἷα τὰ πολλὰ*: or thus, *καὶ κτ* *πάντα τὰ παράγωγα, ὡς κτ* *τὰ πολλὰ, αἷα, and I have always upon this occasion, as I have upon many others, strangers in my company.* see p. 18. l. 24.
19 *ὡς ἐς ἐμὴν*] *this high sense of my own importance and dignity —*
20 *ὥτως ἔνθαλος*] *so musical and so enchanting, — or continues so to tingle in my ears.*
23 *τίως*] *during that interval.*
I 4 **2** *ἐξ ὑπογῆς*] viz. *χεῖρ.*
6 *αἱ μὲν γὰρ οἱ (ἢ ἡμετέροι) Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς Πελοποννησίοις εὖ λίαν.* *If an Orator was to undertake the business of praising the Athenians in an assembly of Peloponnesians, who may be supposed naturally prejudiced in their disfavour.*
9 *ἀγωνίζεσθαι*] *is to perform his part*: for inasmuch as an Orator's reputation was so highly interested in the satisfaction which he gave to his Auditors, this business of speaking might properly be considered as an *ἄγων*. And agreeably hereunto the word *ἀδικομήσας* is used just above; which is an agonistical term signifying *to acquit oneself with credit*: in which sense *δικμος* occurs frequently in SS. 2 Tim. 2. 15. Jam. 1. 2. *ἀδικμος* the contrary 1 Cor. 9. 27.
17 *Δαωσίαν*] She was born at *Miletus*; and is said by her wit and beauty to have gain'd the affection of the principal Grecians of *Ionian*, as she afterwards did that of *Pericles* at *Athens*; over whom she is said to have had so much influence, as caused him to engage the *Athenians* in a war against the *Samians*, who had got the better of the *Milesians* in a war about the city of *Priene*.

- 14 18 λέγω γδ] *yes, I do mean her.*
 21 Μουσῇ] Tho' the word is often us'd in a more extended sense so as to comprehend all the politer arts, as being under the common patronage τῶν Μουσῶν, yet here it seems to refer to the art of *modulating* the voice, &c. as ῥητορικὴ does to the art of *composing* an oration.
- 15 7 μοι δεκά] viz. καὶ ὡς μοι δεκά.
 10 ἐλίσσον] for ἐλίσγει δειν, or more fully ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐλίσσεται δειν.
 11 ἀλλ' ὅπως] viz. διδύκῃ or σκίπτῃ, βλέπῃ, &c.
 12 ἀσπιδόμυθος] sc. ἰμῶπις. Tho' Dancing in *Greece* was look'd on as a commendable accomplishment and made a constant part of liberal education, yet this like several others, became perverted to lascivious purposes, particularly what were call'd *χορδακισμοὶ*, and therefore no wonder that Dancing, when prostituted by Buffoons, should be thought indecent in men of wisdom and character. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 201. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 16. C. 1. Ar. 2. §. 10.
- 16 1 οἷδ' ἔχουσιν] In the Edit. it is οἷδ' ἡδ' ἔχουσιν. In *Dion. Halicarn.* and *Longin.* ἡδ' is omitted. The former admires this passage for the harmonious running of the words; the latter observes a particular beauty in *Plato's* describing Death by the periphrastical expression of ἀμφεμένῃν παρέαν, and the discharging of the funeral solemnities by ἀσπιμφοδίντες &c.
 2 περιούσιον] ἀμφεμένῃν παρέαν] Alluding to the opinion that Souls could not be admitted to the common receptacle 'till their bodies were duly interr'd. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 161. &c.
 3 ἡσῆ] viz. ἀσπίμφοδιν implied in ἀσπιμφοδίντες.
 5 καὶ γὰρ] *and it is proper in itself.*
 9 οὕτως παραινίσσεται] *exhort them in such a manner as to soothe their present sorrow.*
 11 ἡ πῆλιξ ἡ ἀνωγεινὴ ἐν ἀσπιδόμοις] as Grandfathers, Great Grandfathers, &c.
 12 τούτους δὲ] Tho' the particle δὲ may seem redundant, yet this repetition is not uncommon in *Plato*, being more strongly determinative of the persons here spoken of.
 16 ἐπαίξασθαι] *were contented to receive their own deaths in exchange, in order to purchase——*
 17 καὶ φύσιν] *in respect of their nature or birth.*
 32 ὑπεπῆξαι &c.] *a similar expression we have* *Tbucyd.* L. 1. οὐδ' αὖ ἀσπιδόμοι τῷ τούτῳ ἐπαίξαντες — *autores fuimus.* & *Andoc.* οἱ ὑπεπῆξαν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπώσθησιν Ἑλλάδι.
 17 1 οὐκ ἔπληρος ἦσαν] See *Περικλ.* p. 3. l. 8.
 μετακίοντες] The *Athenians* were extremely jealous of their rights as freeborn Citizens, and were therefore particularly careful to keep up the distinction between themselves and the *μίσσηται*, or such as came from foreign countries and settled

18 8 *οὐκ ἐφθίνασιν ἀμ' ἑωμῆς &c.*] *It has been so far from dealing them out with a niggardly hand, that it hath imparted sufficient to serve the necessities of others.* As to the fact, *Attica* is on all hands agreed to have been very craggy, and to have had a very unfruitful soil, which, however disadvantageous in other respects, served to quicken the invention of the Inhabitants, and put them upon exerting themselves by trade and commerce. *Stan. V. 1. 11. Archæol. v. 1. p. 2. Rollin V. 2. B. 5. Art. 3.* In the reign of *Pandion I. Triptolemus* is said to have taught the *Athenians* to sow and manure the ground, which art he learnt from *Ceres*, the same with the *Egyptian Isis*, who is thought at this time to have come into *Attica*. *Stan. v. 1. p. 141.*

11 *Θεὸς ἐπηγάγε[το]* *Cecrops* an *Egyptian* is said to have introduced a form of Religion among the *Athenians*, and to have erected Altars and Statues in honour of the Gods, particularly *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. *Stan. v. 1. p. 132. Archæol. v. 1. p. 184.*

ib. *ὁνέμε[το] σέπει[το] ἰάν]* Inasmuch as it would be descending too low to recount the several inventors of manual arts, and would be foreign to the purpose to be particular in the detail of any transactions but those of a military nature.

13 *πῆχυν ἀρ[χ]ῆτος]* *Cecrops* Navigation, *Triptolemus* Agriculture, *Theseus* civil Polity. *Archæol. v. 1. p. 8, 9, 10. Pelasgus* Building. *Stan. p. 10.*

15 *ἑπλυν κ[α]τ[ὰ] τ[ὴν]*] See *Archæol. v. 2. B. 3. c. 4.*

17 *ἀ[π]ὸ βροχί[ων]*] viz. *ἡμ[ε]ράων.*

22 *ὧν εἶδε τελευτῆσαι ὅτις οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ]* instances whereof we have now before us in the persons here deceased.

23 *ὅτι ἢ ἐν οὖν (ἢ) ἀριστοκρατία]* viz.] it was originally, as it now is, in reality according to the import of the name, an *Aristocracy*, the best constituted form of Government.

24 *ὡς π[ρ]ὸ πολλῶν]* The Democracy was broke in upon several times; viz. by *Pisistratus*, — when the Government of the 400 was established, — when the thirty Tyrants had the Administration.

19 1 *ὅ δὲ, ἀλλο]* i. e. κατ' ἄλλο ὄνομα.

2 *μὴ ἰδιωτικῆς ἐκείνης ἀριστοκρατίας]* an *Aristocracy* extending to All the people, with no other distinction than that of their good repute or good desert. The Commonalty of *Athens* being by *Solon's* constitution invested with the supreme power in all affairs, as well publick as private, He to prevent the pernicious consequences that might arise from the rashness of an unthinking multitude, instituted a council of men of the best credit in the city to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the people; this Council at first consisted

19 consisted of 400, afterwards of 500. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 97 &c.

3 βασιλῆς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν] q. d. And whereas the Lacedæmonians boast of the advantages of Regal government, we have always had something thereof in our constitution. The persons invested with that authority holding it sometimes by descent, at other times by election. After Cædus the name of King was no longer given to the supreme Magistrate, but that of *Archon*. The office was at first perpetual; then decennial; afterwards annual: After which last regulation there were 9 of them; and only one had the title of *Archon*: his authority, tho' much curb'd by his colleagues and by the councils, was however pretty nearly as extensive as that of the Lacedæmonian Kings. The next was call'd βασιλεύς, but his jurisdiction related chiefly to religious matters. The third, Πολέμωρχος; and the six others, Θυροφύται. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 12, 76. See Syneſtus de Regno. Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἂν ἡ βασιλεύς τις καλὸν ἔχων καὶ ἱκανῶς, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ οἰόμεναι πεισθῆναι, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀκροῦσθαι ἐλευθέρως.

4 ἰσχυρῶς τῆς πόλεως] The Commonalty had a negative upon all proceedings of the Senate, *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 95, 96. and therefore might be said to hold and restrain the Government within the bounds of moderation.

5 ἀρχαίς ἢ κερταῖς] The people had the disposal of all magistracies at Athens; and even those persons who owed their promotion to lot, were first approved by the people before they enter'd upon their office, *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 72.

6 κερταῖς] influence, authority.

ib. πῶς αὐτὸς δὲξασθαι ἀρετῆς, αἰνῶν] to men according as they appear distinguished by their virtue.

ib. ἀδυναμία] (viz. ἐπὶ) for want of personal interest.

7 οὕτως πανίῳ] See *Pericl.* p. 4. l. 9.

ib. οὐτ' ἀγνωσίᾳ πατέρων] The Athenians were very jealous of their rights and privileges as Citizens, and obliged all fathers to enroll their sons in the register of their particular φρεσίν, call'd κρινὸν χαμμενῶν. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 47. so that ἀγνωσίᾳ πατέρων only signifies their being men of no figure, or eminence in the state.

ib. ἀπεκρίσθαι] is thought disqualified for, or rejected from.

8 πῶς ἐναντίας] (ἐπὶ) for the contrary qualifications.

9. αἷς ὅρις] the one and only mark of distinction is this.

ib. κερταῖς] has influence.

10 τῆς πολιτικῆς πύτης] of our thus conducting our publick affairs.

12 ἀνωμύλων] men of different rank and condition.

ib. ἀνόμελοι πολιτείας] unequal administrations of government. ὁμοῦλος seu ὁμοῦλος planus, æqualis. ὁμοῦλος δὲ αὖτις æqualitas civilis;

12 civilis: cui *πλεονεξία* opponitur, seu plus habendi, acquirendique, cupiditas immodica, avaritiaque circumscribens, quæ sibi partem majorem justâ præcidit; est vitium ejus, qui in omni re præcipuum quippiam habere vult. *Budeus*.

13 *Τυραννίδης*] This was a term of reproach, as is also *Oligarchy* in the mouth of an *Athenian*, applied to all Monarchical and Aristocratical governments however administered.

14 *οἰκῶσιν οὖν, οἱ τοὶ μὲν δούλως, οἱ δὲ διακρίτας &c.*] This distinction likewise obtained at *Athens*; the Servants being the most numerous part of the inhabitants of *Attica*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 57 &c. But what he means is this, that in Monarchical and Oligarchical governments the bulk of the Citizens themselves are little better than *Slaves*; the *Men of fortune* look upon their inferiors as such.

ib. *οἰκῶσιν οὖν*] the consequence whereof is seen in private life, that — or — accordingly they live in such manner as to regard one another —

16 *οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν*] We neither think so meanly of ourselves as to become the Servants, nor so highly as to Lord it over one another —

18 *ζητῶν*] to exert ourselves in securing.

ib. *μηδὲν ἄλλω*] i. e. *ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν* in no other respect, on no other account —

21 *καὶ κελύς φέρεις*] having the glorious advantage of being free-born —

22 *ἀποφηνάντες*] have displayed, have distinguished themselves by —

20 *Εὐμόλπου καὶ Ἀμφικλίου*] It must not be supposed that these expeditions against *Athens* happen'd at the same time. see *Chronol. Tab.*

ib. *Εὐμόλπου*] He was K. of *Thrace*, and assisted the *Eleuthinians* in a war against *Athens* in the reign of *Ereclibent*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 124. *Hind.* p. 26.

ib. *καὶ Ἀμφικλίου*] This war happened in the reign of *Ægeus*; the *Amazons* being provoked thereunto by his son *Theseus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 150. *Hind.* p. 57. See *Lysias* p. 38. l. 10.

2 *ἐν τῶν ἐν παλαιῶν*] viz. in the fabulous times preceding the date of these transactions.

3 *Ἀργείους*] viz. when they assisted *Adrastus* against *Creon* in recovering the dead bodies of his friends who were slain before *Thebes*. For *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, sons of *Oedipus* K. of *Thebes*, quarrelling about the administration of their father's Government, the latter called in to his assistance *Adrastus* K. of *Argos*; the attack upon the city of *Thebes* was made under the command of *Polynices* and *Adrastus*, with five other Captains, commonly called *οἱ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θηβαίους*, who all fell, except *Adrastus*, with defeat of the army of the *Argives*. Upon this, *Creon* usurped the throne of *Thebes*, and would

would not suffer the *Argives* to bury their Dead, till the *Athenians* under *Theseus* came at the request of *Adrastus*, and did it by force. *Hind* p. 66. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 127.

20 *Ἡρακλῆδης πρὸς Ἀργεῖς*] viz. against *Eurytheus*. After the death of *Hercules*, *Eurytheus* continued his resentment and expressed it to his Children, by commanding *Hyllus* and the rest, being about 60 in number, as they grew up, to quit *Peloponnesus*. They not being in a capacity to resist him, betook themselves to *Athens*, where they were harboured and protected. *Eurytheus* finding them thus settled in a body, and carrying it high upon their own descent and their Father's merit, invaded *Attica*, with a design to extirpate them. But he himself and his sons were slain. The *Heraclidae* in their turn invaded *Peloponnesus* several times, but were obliged to desist, till the third generation; when they succeeded in their enterprise, and changed the face of affairs in *Peloponnesus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 37. 58. *Hind* p. 49.

ib. *πρὸς Καδμείους*] He calls the *Thebans* by this name, because they were yet under Kings of the race of *Cadmus*; Afterwards when their government became Democratical, they are called *Θηβαῖοι*.

4 *ἢ, τι χρόνος βραχὺς διηγήσασθαι*] *the time would fail me, is too short to relate.*

ib. *ποιήσας τε αὐτῶν*] particularly as to the *Theban* war; *Antimachus* in *Plato's* time is said to have publish'd 24 books, only of the Preparations for the siege of *Thebes*. *Stan.* V. 1, p. 126. *Æschylus* the Tragedian in his *ἱστορίαι* ἐπὶ Θήβαις. *Sophocles* in his *Ἐπίγονοι* and *Ἀνηρόνη*. *Euripides* in his *Φωνισσομένη*. — As to the troubles of the *Heraclidae*, *Euripides* has a Tragedy with that title.

5 *ὡς μουσικῇ*] viz. τέχνη or ἐπιστήμη, in poetry.

6 *μνηστικῶν*] It was usual for Poets to recite their compositions at the publick Games of Greece, *Artabæol.* V. 1. p. 445.

7 *λόγῳ ἑλῶ*] in meer naked prose.

ib. *παχὺ ἂν δούτερι φαινομένη*] *I should doubtless make but a low and mean appearance.*

8 *ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν*] (viz. μὴν) as justice hath been done to them — or although they merit it —

10 *ἢ ἴσιν ὡς ἀμνηστία*] not absolutely so; for how then could he pretend to give an account of them? but in a way of being forgot for want of being celebrated by some eminent Genius.

ib. *λάττω ἔχει*] i. e.] ἔλαττον.

11 *μοι δοκέει — ἐπιαινῆναι*] N. B. the transition from the Dative to the Accusative.

ib. *ἐπιμνησθῆναι*] to make mention of.

ib. *προμυιάμενον*] exhorting, persuading.

14 *ὡς ἔστι*] (viz. πῶς τε,)

- 14 Πήρασε ἡγεμῖνας τῆς Ἀσίας] particularly that part of *Asia minor* which was peopled by *Grecian Colonies*, *Æolia*, *Ionis*, *Caria* and *Doris*.
- 15 ἔχον] check'd the progress of—
- ib. οἱ τῆςδε τῆς χάριτος ἐκγονοί] alluding to their favorite title *Αυτοχρόνους*.
- 17 μεμνημένους] viz. ἡμᾶς implied in the preceding ἡμέτεροι.
- 20 τεύχεα ἤδη βασιλείῃ] viz. *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; for *Cyrus* was the founder of the *Persian Monarchy*; — to him succeeded *Cambyzes*; — and (after a short interval) *Darius*.
- ib. ἐλαττωμένους Πέρσης] see *Hind.* p. 237 &c. *Prideaux* Connect. P. 1. B. 2. *Rollin.* V. 2. B. 4. c. 1. who chiefly follow *Xenophon*. But *Plato* seems here principally to regard the account given by *Herodotus*: according to which, *Deioces* was the founder of the *Median Empire*, and reigned 53 years; he was succeeded by *Phaortes* who subdued the *Persians*, and a great part of *Asia*, and died after a reign of 22 years. His son *Cyaxares* divided *Asia* into distinct provinces and governments, and carried his conquests into *Assyria*, but was for a time interrupted in them by an invasion of *Scythians* into *Asia*, and died after a reign of 40 years. His son *Astyages* reigned 35 years, and was dethroned by his grandson *Cyrus*; by whom the Empire of *Asia* was transferred from the *Medes* to his Countrymen the *Persians*. *Herodot.* L. 1. 95—131.
- 21 φρονίμως] courage, resolution, good sense.—
- 23 μίχεται Αἰγύπτῳ] according to *Xenophon's* account, *Ægypt* likewise was render'd tributary to *Cyrus*.
- 23 ὁ δ' ἔως αὐτοῦ] viz. *Cambyzes*.
- ib. Αἰγύπτῳ] It is probable that after the death of *Cyrus* *Amasis* K. of *Ægypt* endeavoured to shake off the *Persian* yoke: but he and his son *Psammenitus* failing in the attempt, all *Ægypt* was reduced under the *Persian* Empire. *Rollin*, V. 2. B. 4. c. 2. &c. *Hind.* p. 249. *Prideaux*, V. 1. p. 235.
- 24 ὅσον οἶόν τι ἦν ἐπιβαίνειν] alluding to the terrible destruction, which was made of his men in passing over the deserts of *Libya* by the torrents of sand which overwhelmed them; and to the great distresses which another army of his suffered, for want of provisions, in his expedition against the *Æthiopians*. *Prideaux* ib. p. 239 &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 4. c. 2.
- 21 π[ρὸ] viz. δυνάμει.
- ib. μίχεται Σκυθῶν] Against the *Thracians* and *Getae* he succeeded, but was forced to retreat after an inglorious attempt against *Scythia*, or that Country which lies between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 208. *Hind.* p. 262. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 275 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 3.

- 2 τῆς τε θαλάσσης ἀρχαίται καὶ τῶν νήων] *Prideaux* p. 287-291. *Stanley* V. 1. p. 215. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 1. c. 6. §. 6. The Islands of the *Ægean* sea seem till this time to have enjoyed each of them the benefit of their own Laws and Government.
- 3 αἱ γνώμαι διδουμένηαι ἦσαν] *their very souls were so much impressed that no one had thoughts of resisting* —
- 4 οὕτω παλαιὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μέγιστα] Besides those already mentioned, *Darius* subdued *India*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 5.
- 5 κραυδιδουμένηαι ἦ] in an active sense, *had subdued* —
- 6 ἡμῶς τε καὶ Ἐρετριῶν] The *Athenians* did actually joyn with and assist the *Ionians* in their revolt from the K. of *Persia*, with twenty ships, being induced thereunto by *Artaphernes*'s giving shelter to *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 283.
- ib. Ἐρετριῶν] They made themselves objects of the *Persians* resentment by sending 5 of their ships in conjunction with the *Athenians* in their expedition against *Sardes*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 212. *Hind* p. 276. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 294.
- 6 ἀντισημῶντες] *having resolved to quarrel with us, to find something to accuse us* —
- ib. Σαρδισίου] *Sardes* was the metropolis of *Lydia*, and the usual place of residence to the *Persian* Satrapa. — The *Ionian* revolters in conjunction with the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* made themselves masters of the town; when an *Ionian* soldier setting fire to one house, the rest being built most of cane took fire and were reduced to ashes, the castle only excepted; into which *Artaphernes* had retired with his Garrison, upon the taking of the town by the revolters. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 284.
- 7 ἀποφανίζομεν Σαρδισίον ἐπιβουλῶν] *alleging this as the particular pretext, that we had formed (or rather executed) a design against Sardes*.
- 8 πλοῖους καὶ ναυὰς] the former *transport ships*, the latter *ships of war*.
- 10 ἢ βάλοντο τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχον] *if he had any thoughts of, or inclination to save his head*.
- 11 αἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων οὐ τοῖς ἐνδομυνοῦσιν ἦσαν] *who were some of the most considerable people among the Grecians of that time for* —
- 13 οὐ περιὲν ἡμέρας] Others say that for six days the *Persians* were repulsed with loss in their attempts to storm the City but that on the 17th it was betrayed into their hands, plundered, and burnt. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 221. *Hind*, p. 292. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 295.

- 15 *Ἐριτρίας*] *Ertria* was not the principal city of *Eubœa*, but only the next to *Chalcis*: It stood upon the *Euripus* on the western side of the Island, and by the expression *ὡς ἡμέλειται*, it should seem that nearly half of the Island was under its jurisdiction.
- 17 *ἴσταν*] *that they might be able to* —
- 19 *ἡγηγάντο*] *were conducted viz. by Hippias*, or simply descended from on shipboard into the plain of *Marathon*.
- ib. *Μαραθῶνα*] ten miles distant from *Athens*.
- ib. *ὡς ἱππεὺς οἶον ἐν*] *viz. χωρὶον*, as being the most convenient place, *viz. for their Cavalry*. — or, it may be the Accusative absolute, the same with *ὡς ἱππεὺς ὄντω ἀσάφες* as being an easy matter to bring —
- 21 *ζυζάνθῃς Ἐργασίδου ἄγων*] With this intent the *Persians* are said to have come provided with a great number of fetters and chains. *Rollin V. 3. c. 1.*
- 23 *ἄλλῃς πλὴν Λακεδαιμ.*] The *Platœans* excepted; for they furnished 1000 soldiers. The *Athenians* being sensible of the disproportion of their own forces to the *Persian*, dispatch'd messengers to *Lacedæmon* for their speedy assistance. The *Lacedæmonians* seemed very willing to assist; but not being permitted to stir by their laws till the Full of the Moon, came not into the field till the day after the battle. *Strab. V. 1. p. 221, 223. Mind. p. 292. Rollin V. 3. c. 1. §. 7.*
- 24 *τῇ ὑπερλίτῃ τῇ μέλει*] *q. d. μὴ ἴσμεν ὅτι τὸν τῇ μέλει*.
- 22 *ἡγωνισάμενοι τῇ ἐν τῷ παρὶν σωματικῇ*] *being contented with saving their lives for the present*. — not considering the probable consequences of their Cowardice.
- 2 *ἐν τῇ*] *sc. χρόνῳ*.
- 4 *διέλαβον*] not that the *Athenians* waited to receive the enemy; but, small as their numbers were, (*viz. 10,000 against 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse*,) they gave the onset. *Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.*
- 5 *ἄνθρωποι σίμαυροι*] *viz. first of all the Grecians*, who triumphed over the *Persian* forces.
- 6 *σίμαυροι ἡρώματα τῶν Βασιλέων*] The *Trophies* of the Antients consisted chiefly of the armour and spoils of the vanquished enemy, hung upon the trunk of a tree and dedicated to some of the Gods. Sometimes Pillars of Stone were made use of. *Archæol. V. 2. p. 111, 113.* At this battle of *Marathon* the *Persians* thought themselves so sure of victory, that they had brought marble in order to erect a Trophy there. The *Greeks* took this marble and caused a statue to be made of it by *Phidias* in honour of the Goddess *Nemesis*. *Rollin. V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.*
- ib. *σίμαυροι ἡρώματα τῶν Βασιλέων*] *viz. ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βασιλέων*.
- 8 *ἀπὸ τοῦ*] *ἢ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ*.

11 ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐπιτρῇ (viz. γῇ) in contradistinction to *Asia*.

12 ἔργον] *that action, that achievement* —

ib. πῶς ὑπέρχεσθαι μάχης] viz. καὶ πῶς &c.

13 ἐπιθυμῶσιν] *had the courage, the resolution, to* —

14 μεθ' ἡμῶν ἢ Μαροθῶν] viz. ἀγωνιζομένων.

ib. ἀρετὰ πρὸς λόγῳ ἀνεγίγνεται] *The rewards of the first and principal honours therefore I am in this Oration to distribute to* —

15 τοῖς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα καὶ ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ] Of the two fights here referred to, that at *Artemisium* happened first. *Artemisium* was a promontory in the north part of *Eubœa*. The *Persians* had designed to surprise the *Grecian* fleet in the streights of *Eubœa* with a squadron of theirs; but by the advice of *Themistocles*, the *Grecians* set sail in the night, and by a counter-surprise fell in with them, took and sunk 30 ships and forced the rest to sea; where by stress of weather they were all sunk or stranded. The next day the *Persians* bore down with the remaining part of their fleet upon that of the *Grecians*, which by the singular valour of the *Athenians* maintained the conflict, but was so shatter'd in the engagement, as to be forced to quit this station in order to refit. *Stan. V.* 1. p. 242. *Hind.* p. 313. *Rollin V. 3.* B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.

16 περὶ Σαλαμῖνα] After the foregoing engagement the *Persians* coming up with their fleet invaded *Eubœa* and the neighbouring Coasts. *Xerxes* at the same time marched thro' *Doris* and *Phocis* to *Bœotia* ravaging all before him. The *Grecian* confederates still continued upon the retreat, and the *Athenians* found themselves obliged to transport their wives and children and most valuable effects to *Træzene*, *Ægina* and *Salamis*; at the latter of which places (being a little island over against and near *Attica*) was the rendezvous of the *Grecian* fleet. Here *Themistocles* partly by bullying the rest of the *Grecian* Commanders, and partly by stratagem, induced them to hazard an engagement with a much superior force of the *Persians*, and defeated them. *Stan. V. 1.* p. 248. *Hind.* p. 321. *Rollin V. 3.* c. 2. §. 8.

18 οἷα ἐπὶ ἑκάστῃ ἐπικείμενα] *what a series of dangers and difficulties, attacking them one after another, they sustained* —

20 τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐργον τοῖς Μαροθῶν διηγεσάμενοι] *seconded the blow that given by our Countrymen at Marathon.*

ib. ὅτι τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐργον &c.] viz. τῆς Εὐθηρίας συντηρίας as p. 23. l. 10.

21 οἱ Μαροθῶν] i. e. οἱ ἐπὶ Μαροθῶν μαχησάμενοι.

24 πλὴν] see *Lysias* p. 45. l. 7.

23 2 τὸν ἐκ φόβου] *the fear which possessed them: or, which was near them; or, the fear which was connected with and arose from what is above mentioned, πλὴν ἐκ πλὴτος &c.*

- 23 ⁹ τὸ δὲ Πλαταιαῖς ἔχον] After *Xerxes's* retreat out of *Greece*, *Mardonius* stayed behind and wintered in *Thessaly*. In the spring he offered very advantageous terms of peace to the *Athenians*; which being rejected with disdain, he enter'd *Attica* with fire and sword; whereupon the *Athenians* a second time deserted their city, and retired to *Salamis*. The joint forces of *Greece* being now on their march towards him from *Peloponnesus*, he retreated into the plain-country of *Bœotia*, in order to put himself into a better posture of defence. The *Grecian* army was 120,000, under *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; The *Persians* were 350,000, or, as others, 500,000. These latter attacked the *Lacedæmonian* part of the army at a disadvantage, near the city of *Plataea*, but were repulsed with vigour and forced into their intrenchments; when the *Athenians* coming up rendered the victory compleat. The very same day the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* gave an entire defeat to another large army of *Persians* near *Mysale*, a promontory of *Ionis*, and burnt their shipping. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 255—266. *Hind.* p. 353 &c. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4 p. 340. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2.

fb. ἔχον — ἡ Εὐκλείδης συντηρεῖς] viz. ἔχον —

21 τὸ μέγιστον τῆς χαλεπότητος (viz. μεγάλῃς) οὗτοι πάντες ἡμῶν] These then, all of them ward off the greatest difficulty, namely, the danger with which the *Persians* threatened us —

13 ὡς τὸ ὑπερ] (viz. ὑπερίστων ἰσχυρὰ ἀδύνατον.)

14 πᾶσαι τὰ πόλεις] The foregoing defeats of the *Persians* were followed by the revolt of all *Ionis*; which entering into a confederacy with the *Grecians*, by their help, maintained its liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire. Besides this, the *Grecians* equipped a strong fleet, of which *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* and *Aristides* the *Athenian* had the command; they sailed first to *Cyprus*, and the next year to the *Hellepont* and other places, and freed many cities from the *Persian* garrisons, and restored them to their liberty (*Prideaux* B. 4. p. 348, 352. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 2. §. 14.) But this giving liberty to the *Grecian* cities was chiefly effected by *Cimon* three years afterwards, who reduced several islands upon the coast of *Thrace*; and the next year after, sailing from *Athens* with a fleet of 200 sail, and augmenting it with 100 more from the *Asiatick* Allies, drove the *Persians* out of *Caria* and *Lycia*, destroyed their fleet in the mouth of the river *Euxymedon*, and the very same day landing his forces overthrew, and gained a compleat victory over their land army; He soon after surpris'd and destroyed 80 *Phœnician* ships which were coming to join the *Persian* fleet. And the next year reduced the *Tbractian* *Cherfoneus* with

- 23 with several of the Isles adjacent. *Prideaux* B. 4. p. 358. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 3. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 265 and 289.
- 15 ἀναθεῖναι ὡς ἐπιχειρήσας] to be meditating a design of invading —
- 20 οἱ πρὶν τὴν Εὐρυμέδον &c.] the sea fight at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia* happened 7 years after one of their expeditions to *Cyprus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 272, and 290. *Hind.* p. 346, and 367. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 348, 356.
- 20 οἱ δὲ Κύνες ἑσπερίωνος καὶ οἱ δὲ Διὸς πολέμου] *Cyprus* was an island lying in the straits between *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*. As the possession of it would on all occasions be a curb to the *Persian*, the *Athenians* sent thither a fleet of 200 sail; and in order to secure to themselves a greater command in those parts, joined their forces with *Inarus* K. of *Lybia*, to support the *Egyptians* in their revolt from the *Persian*. Upon first landing in *Egypt* the *Athenians* routed the *Persians* and pursued them to *Mempbis*, took two parts of the city, and blocked up the third. But after a siege of near three years they were obliged to desist, were themselves with their shipping blocked up in the *Nile*, and after great losses with difficulty retired home, having spent near six years in this fruitless expedition. *Prideaux* V. 2. B. 5. p. 371, 442. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 310. *Hind.* p. 377.
- 22 χάριν αὐτοῖς ἀδύναμι] to retain and express a grateful sense of their services, in that they —
- 24 ἀλλὰ μὴ &c.] Accordingly, after the conquests of *Cimon*, *Xerxes* gave over all thoughts of the *Grecian* war; nor were any more of his ships seen in the *Ægean* sea, nor any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 359.
- 24 ἰ δυνάμει] *Virg.* *Æn.* 4.
Quæ bella exhausta canebat.
- ib. πᾶσιν τῇ πόλει] The city being obliged to exert her whole force in the *Persian* war.
- 2 ἰομόφωνον] *Æolis* in *Asia minor* was inhabited by a colony of *Dorians* of *Laconia* after their expulsion out of *Peloponnesus* by the *Heracidae*; as was a great part of *Lesbos*. — *Ionis* by a colony of *Iontans*, who being likewise expelled *Peloponnesus* returned to *Athens* their original country, and in conjunction with other *Athenians* under *Nileus* and *Androcles* sons of *Codrus*, seized upon that part of the coast of *Asia minor* which lies between *Caria* and *Lydia*. Other *Dorians* settled, some of them in *Crete*, but a much larger number in that part of *Asia minor*, which was from them called *Doris*, and in the adjacent islands of *Rhodus*, *Cos*, &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 5. Tho' there was a difference in the language of the inhabitants of these several districts of *Asia minor* and the Islands,

24 as also between those of proper *Greece*, yet as they were all derived from and grounded upon the same original tongue, it proved a mighty cement to unite them in one common interest, as it suggested that they were all related to each other in their origin.

3 ὃ δὲ φιλᾷ — τοῖς ἐνθάδε τοῖς ἀποκρίνεται] *what usually happens to persons in prosperity.*

6 ἀποκρίνεται μὲν ἕλκος &c.] Soon after the victories gained over the *Persians* at *Plataea* and *Mycale*, *Pausanias*, the chief commander of the *Lacedæmonian* forces, by his haughtiness gave the *Grecian* confederates such ill impressions of the *Lacedæmonian* dominion, that they all, except the *Peloponnesians*, put themselves under the protection of the *Athenians*, and gave them liberty to rate all the cities in such proportion of ships and money, as they thought necessary for the support of the war. This transferring of the command of *Greece* occasioned no small jealousy in the *Lacedæmonians*, and laid the foundation of such discontent and afterwards broke out into an open rupture; particularly on occasion of the *Lacedæmonians* dismissing in a fit of jealousy a body of *Athenians* from their service, whom they had sent for to assist them in quelling an insurrection of their slaves, as *Thucydides* relates B. 2. *Stan-yan* V. 1. p. 272 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 14.

9 σπυρίδαλον ὡς Τανάγρα] q. d. ἡμίτεροι πολῖται (implied in τὴν πόλιν l. 8.) σπυρίδαλον (μύχην.) The quarrel which occasioned this engagement, lay between the *Phocians* and the *Dorians*; to the assistance of which latter, the *Lacedæmonians*, as being originally descended from them, sent 11500 men. These forces soon brought the *Phocians* to terms: but staying in *Boeotia* were attacked about *Tanagra* a city not far distant from *Thebes*, by the *Athenians*; the slaughter on both sides was considerable, and the victory turned in favour of the *Lacedæmonians*. About two months after this defeat, the *Athenians* marched into *Boeotia* under *Myronides*, and intirely routed the inhabitants with those *Lacedæmonian* forces, which were left, at a place called *Oenophytia*, or the Vineyards, took *Tanagra* by storm and demolished it and overran the greatest part of *Boeotia*, *Phocis* and *Locris Opuntia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 302, &c. *Hind.* p. 381.

ib. ὑπὲρ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας] The *Thebans*, who had for some time been under disgrace, upon account of their joining with *Xerxes* in the *Persian* war, and now found themselves despised and their authority disowned by the rest of the *Boeotians*, desired the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* to reduce all *Boeotia* under the Dominion of *Thebes*: promising them that, if they would assist them in that desire, they would maintain the war against the *Athenians* at their own charge.

The

- 24 The *Lacedæmonians*, by the forces which they then had at *Tanagra*, enlarged the extent of the city of *Thebes*, and forced the other cities of *Boeotia* to submit to her authority. This occasioned the *Athenians* to march out and engage the *Lacedæmonians* at *Oenophyta*. *Hind*. p. 382. — *Thucydides* gives another reason why the *Athenians* attacked the *Lacedæmonian* forces at *Tanagra*, viz. their having a design to second and support the attempts of some of their own citizens to subvert the *Democracy*, B. 2.

11 διέβησαν τὸ ὕψος ἕλπον] see not. l. 9.

ib. αἱ μὲν ἔχοντο ἀπίοντες &c.] This is agreeable to what *Thucydides* says, that the *Lacedæmonians* (I suppose the main part of them) went home after the battle at *Tanagra*.

12 Βοιωτὺς οἷς ἐστὶν] viz. the *Thebans* and their Party; for the *Athenians* likewise engaged ὑπὲρ Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας.

13 τρίτη ἡμέρα] *Diodorus Siculus*, who is very particular in his account of this expedition, has nothing which corresponds to this expression; *Thucydides* says that the *Athenians* set out upon this expedition διούτερον καὶ ἐξήκοντον ἡμέρας after the battle at *Tanagra*.

ib. τὰς ἀδικίας φεύγοντας] those that had been injuriously forced to fly their Country, in order to escape the tyranny of the *Thebans*.

14 πλεονεξία] N. B. the repetition of this word l. 18.

16 ὡς οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν ἡσυχάζειν] *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of this action at *Tanagra* as little, if at all, inferior to those at *Marathon* and *Plataea*.

18 πολλὰ πολέμῳ ἡσυχάζειν] a great a general war arising — for the first grounds of the *Peloponnesian* war here referred to, see *Stan.* V. 1. p. 320, 326. *Hind.* p. 400, &c. 405, 411. *Rollin*, V. 3. B. 7 c. 1. §. 13, 14.

19 πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιστρατιωσάντων] The *Lacedæmonians* had secured almost all *Peloponnesus* on their side, at the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war; together with the *Megareans*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Boeotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians* and *Anaëstians*: On the *Athenian* side were the *Cbians*, *Lesbians*, *Platæans*, *Messenians* inhabiting *Naupactus*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyraeans* and *Zacynthians*; besides great part of the *Asiatick* *Grecians* on the sea coast, several towns of *Thrace*, with most of the lesser Islands, and tributary cities in general. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 333. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 11.

20 πρὸντων τὴν χώραν] for the *Athenians* not being able to face the *Lacedæmonians* with their land forces, by the advice of *Pericles* brought into *Athens* all their families and effects out of the country, together with the very timber of their houses, which they pulled down; and conveyed away their cattle into *Eubæa* and the neighbouring isles. So that the forces of the

- 24 the *Lacedæmonians* could make no other havock in the country but *τίμναι τὴν χώραν* cutting down the trees, corn, &c. Rollin V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 1. Stan. V. 1. p. 385.
- ib. *ἀνέστιον χάριν ἐμπνόντων*] making a very ungrateful return to —
- 21 *ναυμυχία*] The *Athenians* having at the commencement of the war a fleet of 300 Gallies, by *Pericles's* advice they placed their main confidence in exerting their maritime force, and with part of it layed waste the territories of *Laconia*, and with the rest overawed the allies on whom contributions were levied. Rollin V. 3. p. 344.
- ib. *νικήσαντες αὐτὸς &c.*] The action here hinted at was one of the most signal of all the *Peloponnesian* war, tho' the number of *Lacedæmonians* (being only 420) immediately concerned in it was but small: it happened in the 7th year of the war; when upon the *Lacedæmonians* endeavouring to dispossess the *Athenians* of *Pylus*, a naval engagement was fought, in which the *Athenians* were victorious and enclosed a select body of *Lacedæmonians*, who had thrown themselves into *Sphacteria*, and reduced those, who survived the several skirmishes, (being 292) to the extremity of surrendering prisoners at discretion, and carried them to *Athens*. Rollin V. 3. p. 384. Stan. V. 1. p. 367.
- 23 *ἐν τῇ Σφαγίᾳ*] *Sphagia* was another name of the island *Sphacteria*, as we are informed by *Strabo* B. 8. For want of attending to this, the passage hath been usually translated as if the words had been *ἐν τῇ σφαγῇ* in *bac clade*.
- 24 *ἔχοντι ἐπιπύσαντο*] The *Lacedæmonians* sued to the *Athenians* for peace, when first their countrymen were blocked up in the island *Sphacteria*, upon their finding themselves unable to relieve them: But the *Athenians* being very insolent in their demands, the *Lacedæmonians* chose to continue the war, and in two years got so much advantage, that the *Athenians* grew more moderate, and came to terms of peace for 50 years, the chief Articles being that "the Garrisons should be evacuated, and the Towns and Prisoners restored on both sides." During all this while the *Lacedæmonian* prisoners taken in *Sphacteria* had remained prisoners at *Athens*. Stan. V. 1. p. 365—382.
- 24 *ἡγέμενοι ὥς μιν τὸ ἐμφοῦλον &c.*] *Cic. de Offic. L. 1.* Ea bella, quibus imperii gloria proposita est, minus acerbè gerenda sunt. Ut enim cum cive aliter contendimus, si est inimicus, aliter, si est competitor: cum altero certamen honoris et dignitatis est: cum altero capitis et famæ. Sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret &c. *Sall. B. Jug.* cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloriâ certare.

- 25 ¹ μὴ δ' ἔργον ἰδῆαι τῆς πόλεως] This was remarkably the disposition of the *Athenians*, when *Themistocles* had formed a scheme to supplant the *Lacedæmonians* and burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the *Grecian* States; which motion was quashed upon the representation of *Aristides*, *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. And afterwards when *Epialtes* advised them to take an advantage of the distress into which the *Lacedæmonians* were thrown by the terrible Earthquake which layed waste most of the cities of *Laconia*, and by the insurrection of their slaves, *Cimon* supported the interest of *Lacedæmon*, and procured himself to be sent to its succour with 4000 men. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 8.
- 2 τὸ κρινεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διακωλύει] *weaken, and so in effect destroy the common interest of the Grecians.*
- 5 ὅτι ἐπιδείξαν, ἄντις] *Because they shewed, that if any one should dispute the matter and insist, that in the former war against the Barbarians some other people were braver men than the Athenians, they would insist upon what was not true.* N. the the transfl. from the singular number. l. 5. to the plural l. 7.
- 8 ἐκασίσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος] *when Greece became divided within itself.*
- 11 εὐκρινεῖ κρινεῖ] viz. νίκη or δυνάμει.
- 12 Τερίτη δὲ πόλεμος] He is speaking of the wars which the *Athenians* had with the other *Grecians*. The first whereof was between them and the *Lacedæmonians* and *Bæotians*, mentioned p. 24. l. 8; The *Peloponnesian* war p. 24. l. 18. is the second; the *Sicilian* (tho' it is usually reckoned a part of the *Peloponnesian*) the third.
- 13 ἀνέλπιδός τε καὶ δεινός] *terrible in it's consequences and contrary to all our hopes and expectations*, the *Athenians* losing in it their best Generals, Fleets and Armies; which losses drew after them the ruin of *Athens* itself. *Sian*. V. i. p. 423. And this seems the most obvious and true reason why this expression is here used; tho' by an Oratorical turn another is assigned l. 23.
- 14 τελευτήσαντες ὧν δὲ καὶ νῦν] *tho' they died in Sicily, yet the bodies of the dead might be, as they usually were, reduced to ashes, in order to be conveyed to their Relations and interred at home; or at least a Cenotaphium might be erected for them.* *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 102.
- 25 ὑπὲρ τῆς Λιοντίνων] The quarrel in *Sicily* between *Syracuse* and *Leontium* began about 5 years before the peace concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*. Those cities formed their confederacies in order to carry on a vigorous war: And the *Leontines* on pretence of consanguinity (being originally of *Chalcidius*, an *Athenian* colony) and antient alliances

25 alliances, drew over the *Athenians* to their party. And the *Athenians* were glad to have a footing in the island upon any terms, both to hinder the transporting of corn from thence to *Peloponnesus*, and to try if there were any possibility of subduing it for themselves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 362. After the expedition against *Melos* they engaged in the war in earnest. *Nicias* the chief commander carried the victory in some actions against the *Syracusans*, and gained ground in the island, and was upon the point of carrying the city itself by siege; but *Gylippus* arriving with succours from *Lacedæmon*, a surprising turn was given to the affair; and by repeated losses in several engagements the *Athenians* were forced to raise the siege, with the loss of all their shipping; and all the surviving soldiers being obliged to surrender Prisoners at discretion, were used with great hardships, and at length sold for slaves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 399 — 423. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 8. c. 1. §. 5. &c.

18 ἡ δὲ δυνάμειν αὐτοῖς ὑπερβαίνει] tho' the *Athenians* did send supplies according to the request of *Nicias*, yet they unfortunately came too late, *Nicias* himself having been defeated the day before, as the supplies were the day after. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 412.

19 ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c.] ἵκανον ἔχουσιν for ἵκανῶν. *Whose moderation and courage our very enemies are more ready to praise, than other people are apt to do that of their friends.* This sentence is much embarrassed: the literal and common version *quorum hostes* — *maiores temperantiae virtutisque laudem, quam amici aliorum habent* is not intelligible in the last part; and the former part is contrary to *Thucydides's* account, who represents the behaviour of the *Athenian's* Enemies on this occasion to have been excessively insolent and cruel B. 8. — Or it may be, ὧν (viz. δι' ὧν) οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c. by which misfortune our enemies gained (unjustly) a greater reputation for their moderation and courage, than the friends of the other party, i. e. than We, who out of a generous principle of friendship engaged in their defence.

21 ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς κατὰ Ἐλλάδα, μὴ μὲν ἡμέτερον &c.] The great losses which the *Athenians* sustained in the *Sicilian* war, were followed by the revolt of several places towards the *Hellepont*. The *Athenians* for the recovery thereof sent out as good a fleet as they could equip; which under the command of *Thrasylus* and *Thrasylbulus*, fell in with *Mindarus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and defeated him at *Cynos Sema*: and not long after they gave the *Lacedæmonians* a second defeat near *Abydus*, whereby they not only recovered their

their own Gallies, but took thirty belonging to the *Enemy*. But the most decisive blow was struck by *Alcibiades* before the port of *Cyzicus*, whereby the *Athenians* took all the enemies ships, secured to themselves the *Hellespont*, and drove the *Lacedæmonians* out of all the other seas. *Stan. V. 1. p. 425—431.*

22 πᾶσις τῆς τῶν πολέμων ἰόντις ναῦς, πᾶς ὃς ἄλλας νικῶν-
τις.] making themselves masters of all the ships, which the
enemy had remaining, having before that time taken and de-
stroyed many more.

26 ¹ τὸ ὅς τοῦτον &c.] The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* was followed by a general defection of their old Allies, and a confederacy of the other *Grecians* against them, having the *Lacedæmonians* at their head: and a league was concluded between the King of *Persia* and the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan. V. 1. p. 424.* This good understanding was afterwards improved by the negotiations of *Lysander*, (see also p. 436.) who taking advantage of *Alcibiades's* absence from the *Athenian* navy gained an intire victory and took 15 *Athenian* Gallies. Upon which *Alcibiades* fell into disgrace, and was succeeded in his command by ten Generals, (the principal whereof was *Conon*.) *Lysander* was succeeded by *Callicratidas*; who pursued *Conon* into the port of *Mitylene* with 170 Sail, took 30 of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions; He soon after took ten more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the *Athenians* had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of 150 sail, he left 50 of the ships to carry on the siege of *Mitylene*, and with 120 met the *Athenians* near the *Arginusæ* (Islands) over-against *Lesboi*. After a long and obstinate fight, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral was sunk, and the rest fled: The *Peloponnesians* lost about 70 sail, and the *Athenians* 25, with most of the men in them. *Stan. V. 1. p. 436, &c. Rollin V. 4. p. 35.*

2 ὥς τοι μῶσαι ἐχθρῶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν] so as, in defiance of every thing that is virtuous, to send an Embassy to negotiate an alliance with our most inveterate enemy.

οἰκίμων γδ] viz. ὁ ἄλλος Εὐχρίων p. 26. l. 2.

11 ἀναξίς τῆς οὐκ ἀναμετρήτης οὐκ τῆς θαλάττης] After the fight at *Arginusæ* the *Athenian* Admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, were accused of suffering their men, who were shipwrecked, to be lost, when they might have saved them: and eight of the ten were condemned, and six of them put to death. *Socrates*, into whose mouth *Plato* has put this expression, was utterly against this usage of the Admirals: and indeed the *Athenians* themselves afterwards re-
pent

26 pented of what they had done. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 38, &c. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 438.

12 πάντων ἐξήνθη] Qu. how could that be, if they were ἀναμειβόμενοι οὐκ τῆς θανάτου? either their carcases might be taken up afterwards — or their having a Cenotaphium erected for them might answer the supposed purpose of giving rest to their departed shades. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 225. to clear the difficulty *Wesselingus*, by conjecture, inserts the particle ἔ before πάντων.

16 καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔδοξε] and such sentiments were well founded.

17 τῇ δὲ ἡμετέρᾳ αὐτῶν ἀποφασίᾳ συνετύχημι] referring to those advantages which the *Lacedæmonians* and their confederates made of the civil dissensions of the *Athenians*. *Thuc.* L. 8. c. 95.

19 ἡμῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς &c.] The *Athenian* fleet sent out against *Lyfander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, consisted of 180 sail, and several times offered him battle, which *Lyfander* as oft declined; but he afterwards watched his opportunity of beginning his attack when the men were landed, and in the confusion made himself master of the whole Fleet and took 3000 Prisoners. This was followed by the siege of *Athens*, whereby the *Athenians* being reduced to the last extremity were forced to submit to the hard conditions offered by the *Lacedæmonians*; namely, to relinquish their fortresses; to demolish their walls; to deliver up all their ships but 12; to restore their Exiles; to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the *Lacedæmonians*, and to serve them in all their expeditions by sea and land. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 440, &c. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 51, &c.

22 ἂντι ἀρμεγόμενοι ἄν] if it should be the fate.

21 οὐκ οὐκ ἡμῶν πόλις &c.] After the surrender of *Athens*, *Lyfander* quite altered the *Athenian* constitution and erected a Government commonly known by the name of the *Thirty Tyrants*, who having a guard assigned them from *Lacedæmon*, acted without controul in all kinds of violence and oppression: but this not seeming sufficient for their security, they imparted some share of their Authority to 3000 Citizens, and by their means disarmed the rest. This ill usage occasioned multitudes to leave the city and live in exile in different parts of *Greece*. *Thrasylbulus* at the head of a small party began the opposition by seizing upon *Phyle*, a strong castle on the frontiers of *Attica*; His numbers soon increased; and some skirmishes he made with success. The *Thirty* being alarmed thereby, fortified *Eleusis* to serve them upon any sudden exigency, as a place of retreat; and to free themselves from any jealousy the inhabitants thereof might give them, they caused all that were able to bear arms, to pass

- 26 One by One, as it were to compute the strength of the gar-
rison, and murdered them. — *Thrasylbulus* after this find-
ing his numbers still encreasing, seized on the *Piræus*, and
defeated the 30 who attempted to drive Him from thence.
A truce ensuing *Thrasylbulus* expostulated with his opposers in
so pathetic a manner, that the 3000 deposed the *Thirty*,
and invested *Ten* men, one out of each tribe, with the ad-
ministration : — these pursued the same measures of injustice
and oppression, and joining counsels with the *Thirty* who had
retired to *Eleusis*, determined the utter destruction of those
in the *Piræus*; and in this scheme they were supported and
aided by the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Athenians* in the *Piræus*
were routed: and at length, at the instances of *Pausanias* the
Lacedæmonian General, a peace between those in the city and
those in the *Piræus* was established on condition that every
man should return home except the *Thirty*, and *σι Εὐδήης*,
and the *Ten* more who had commanded in the *Piræus*, and
if any of the City apprehended themselves to be obnoxious,
they might be free to retire with them to *Eleusis*: After
which the Democracy was restored. — But the Faction at
Eleusis still continuing to make fresh attempts against the city
and that by means of foreign troops, the whole city went
out against them, and having taken off their commanders,
the rest were easily brought to an accommodation; and a
general Amnesty was passed, whereby every man obliged
himself by oath to bury what was passed in oblivion; which
being religiously observed, the city was restored to its former
tranquillity, and its members were again united into one body.
Stan. V. 2. p. 2—21. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 66, &c.
- 23 *νοῦσι*] *Factions and Seditions are the diseases of the body*
Politick.
- 24 *ὡς ἀσμένως καὶ οἰκίως*] *with the greatest readiness and friend-*
liness came to a reconciliation with each other, and were again
united into one body. see the pathetic speech of *Thrasylbulus*,
which occasioned this reconciliation. *Xenoph.* L. 2. *ad fi-*
nem.
- 27 *ἡ περὶ ἐλπίδα*] (*viz.* *ἐλπίζομένην*) *τῆς ἄλλης* — *contrary to the*
expectations of, or what was hoped for by the other —
- 5 *πλιυσθησάντων ὑπ' ἑαυτῶν*] *It has been observed that this sedi-*
tion proved more fatal to the Athenian state than the War:
there were 1400 citizens put to death without hearing,
and those chiefly men of note and condition; and on the
whole, as many more lives were consumed in this eight
month's fury, as in the Peloponnesian War of ten years. *Stan.*
V. 2. p. 22.

- 27 7 ἀγαπᾶσθαι ἐν αἰσὶ καὶ θανάτῳ] Men were thought to retain the same affections after death, which they had entertained while alive. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 240. and these honours of prayers and sacrifices, being offered by the friends of the deceased, were thought very acceptable to departed souls, and might therefore answer the purpose here mentioned of reconciling them to each other. Concerning the sacrifices and oblations offered upon this occasion, see *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 235.
- ib. ἀγαπᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς &c.] *do our utmost to bring them to a reconciliation, praying and sacrificing upon these occasions to those Powers, which have the command and direction over them; inasmuch as we ourselves are reconciled.* Platonis sententia est animis in vitalem hanc prodeuntibus lucem contribui Dæmonem, qui sit actionem inspector omnium, & cogitationum quoque diligens explorator; quique corporeo exolutis nexu assistat semper &c. *Cæli Rhodigin.* Lect. Antiq. L. 2. c. 10.
- 9 ἢ γὰρ κακίᾳ &c.] *Cic. pro Marcello.* Omnes enim qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo Reipub. misero funestoque compulsi.
- 9 ἀλλήλων ἡψάμετο] *used such violence towards each other.*
- 11 συγγνώμην ἔχομεν] used in a double sense, *are excused for what we did; excuse others περὶ ἡμῶν σὺν γὰρ.* for what we suffered.
- 13 παντεπλὺς αἰρήνης] *Athens* for some time continued very quiet with its neighbours, endeavouring to recover itself from its late confusions in the government at home. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 54.
- 15 οὐκ ἐπὶ σπουδαίᾳ ἡμύνοντο] *made no inconsiderable or poor defence.*
- 18 πῶς τε ταῦς ἀπολυτρόφοι] viz. by the terms of the Peace which *Lysander* gave the *Athenians*.
- ib. ποτ'] viz. the fight at *Salamis*.
- 19 ἀλλ' ὅτι] namely, by leaving their city a second time to be ravaged by *Mardonius*, when they might have made very advantageous terms for themselves, by giving up the *Peloponnesians*. *Stan.* V. 1. 255.
- 22 οὕτως ἤκη.] *formed its domestick administrations agreeably to that principle.* the particle οὕτω seems to bear an emphatical reference to what went before, so *Job.* 4. 6. *fedit ita ut — vel idcirco quia — lassus erat.*
- 24 σφίγγειν δὲ ἡν ἔργον ἄνω] *that now was the proper time of executing their scheme of enslaving others.*
- 28 1 ταῦτ' ἐπεχείρησαν] *exerted themselves in the execution of this scheme.*
- 2 ἐπὶ πολεμῶν ἀνθρώπων] viz. ἀπὸ in the same sense as when used with πολεμῶν ὁπλῶν, or πολεμῶν χρεῶν.
- 4 ἀφίχοντο εἰς χεῖρας τῷ Πέρσῃ] *came to crave the assistance of our city.* The truth was, that the K. of *Persia*, being alarmed by the formidable preparations of the *Lacedæmonians* against him

- 28 him under so able a commander as *Agefilas*, practised with the leading men of the principal cities of *Greece* to take advantage of their disaffection to the absolute and tyrannical government of the *Lacedæmonians*, and to make a diversion at home. The *Thebans* first came into the scheme; and after them the *Argives* and *Corinthians* with their dependents. The *Athenians* though they took no share of the *Persian* money were easily brought to engage in a rupture of this kind. *Stan. V. 2. p. 70.*
- 5 Εἰκότων οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι] The *Argives* as we are informed by *Diod. Sic.* challenged to themselves a precedence among the States of *Greece*, on account of the great Antiquity and Wealth of their state.
- ib. τίς θυνέειπεν] what was very extraordinary and surprizing.
- 6 ὡς τῷτο ὑποβίβας ἀφικέσθαι] was reduced to such straits and difficulties, namely, by the great successes of *Agefilas* in *Asia*. *Stan. V. 2. p. 53, &c.*
- ib. ὡς περιέειπεν αὐτῷ] viz. τὸ ἀνέγμεναι αὐτῷ so that his affairs received such an unexpected turn, that — *Thucyd.* more fully l. i. p. 78. πλάω, ἢ καλῶς δοκῶντι βουλεύεσθαι, ὡς τῷ νῦν αἰχρῶς περιέειπεν.
- 11 τοῦ ἡγετονος ἡγετονίς] the guardian and protector of the helpless —
- ib. καὶ δὲ ἐν &c.] And accordingly at that time, a juncture of such imminent danger to the liberty of *Greece*, it was unable to barden itself any longer in its determination —
- 15 αὐτῇ βοηθήσαντι] *Athens* yet awhile acted only as an auxiliary, see l. 21.
- 16 μίχους &] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas*.
- 19 Φαρνάβας] *Conon* ever since his defeat at *Ægospotamos* had lived in voluntary exile; and during that time made it his business to ingratiate himself with the *Persians*, in hopes, by them, to gain an opportunity of retrieving the misfortunes of his country. And it was chiefly by his advice that the confederacy against the *Lacedæmonians* was spirited up. But the most signal service which he did his country, was by obtaining a joint command of the *Persian* fleet together with *Pharnabazus*, and thereby defeating the *Lacedæmonians* near *Cnidus*. *Conon* followed this blow by making a descent upon the maritime towns of *Laconia*, and ravaging the country, *Stan. V. 2. p. 67—81.*
- 19 ὁμολογούμενος ἴσως] agreeably hereunto *Nepos*, observes in his life of *Conon*, neque vero non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, *Agefilas* *Asiam* *Tauro* tenus Regi fuisse erepturum.
- ib. τευχασμένη καὶ ναπηρησάμενη] after the foremention'd achievements *Conon* sailed home, and, with the money, which he

28 he had procured from the *Persian* court, repaired the fortifications and rebuilt the walls of *Athens*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 81.

20 ἐκδοτέμεν ἢ πάλαιον] *expecting to be attacked*—

21 πολυμῶν] *to declare war as a principal*; which the *Athenians* do not seem to have done, till the sending out *Thrasylbulus* to secure the islands of the *Ægean* sea in the interest of the *Athenians*; which had thrown off the *Lacedæmonian* yoke immediately after *Conon's* victory at *Cnidus*; from which time both *Diodorus Siculus* and *Xenophon* date the fall of the *Lacedæmonian* empire at sea. The expedition of *Thrasylbulus* was about three years afterwards.

ib. ὑπὲρ Παρίων] *Parus* was an Island in the *Ægean* sea, one of those called *Cyclades*; and was more considerable for its wealth and power than for its extent. What was the particular case of the *Parians* here referred to, is not said either by *Diodorus Sic.* or *Xenophon*. This island, tho' immediately after the retreat of *Darius* it baffled the attack of *Miltiades*, yet afterwards became dependent upon *Athens*, and had its polity regulated upon the *Athenian* plan; which, after *Lyfander's* victory, gave place to that of *Lacedæmon*. *Conon*, as has been already observed, after his victory at *Cnidus* went round the isles of the *Ægean* sea and expelled from thence the *Lacedæmonian* Governours; which an *Athenian* might well call engaging in their defence ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. This passage more probably refers to something which gave immediate occasion either to the expedition of *Thrasylbulus*, or *Cabrias*; the latter of which is said to have gained a signal victory over the *Lacedæmonian* fleet between the islands *Naxos* and *Parus*. *Diod. Sic.* L. 15. and *Xenoph.* *Ελλην.* L. 5.

24 ἐξήτη] *demanded to have given up to him.*

29 ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις &c.] viz. in the 20th year of the *Peloponnesian* war they agreed to give up all the places, which had been held by the K. of *Persia* or by his ancestors; which was in effect to make him master of the greatest part of *Greece*. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 8. c. 2. and afterwards by the negotiation of *Antalcidas* they proposed to give up the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 82.

2 ἡ μάλιστα συμφωνία] *as the condition of his continuing his alliance*; Or, *if it was expected that he should continue it.*

4 τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμάχων ἐψάδον] *He was mistaken in the rest of the allies.*

6 Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωταί] *Xenophon* relates that they all were as much averse to a peace upon those terms, as the *Athenians*.

10 πᾶσι ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐλευθέρῳ] *this principle of generosity and freedom.*

11 ἀμιγρῶς] *without any mixture.*

29 ¹² ὁ δὲ Πίλοπος, ἔδδ Κἀδμος, ἔδδ Αἰγυπτιῶν καὶ Δαναῶν] This is said with respect to the people mentioned l. 4. *Pelops* was son of *Tantalus* K. of *Sipylus* in *Pbrygia*: having been worsted in war by *Bus* he fled for refuge to *Oenomaus* K. of *Pisa* in *Elis*; where he succeeded him in the Kingdom by marrying his daughter *Hippodamia*: by her he had a numerous issue, by whose marriages and a reign of 58 years, he got footing in most parts of the peninsula, calling it from himself *Peloponnesus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 31. *Aegyptus* and *Danaus* were two Brothers; the latter upon account of ill usage fled into *Peloponnesus*, and seized the Kingdom of *Argos*; *Aegyptus* followed him thither; whose son *Lyncus* succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 25. *Cadmus* is well known to have come from *Phœnicia*, and to have fixed the seat of his power and dominion at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 121.

11 ἀμικαῖς ἤ Βαρυάροι] see *Peric.* p. 3. l. 8.

15 ἐντίθημι] is firmly rivetted and incorporated with —

19 ἐλθόντες ὡς πύρρον] being reduced to the same circumstances and deserted by the rest of the Grecians.

ib. τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῦσιν] viz. by *Lysander*.

21 πῶς ἡμῖν ἐστιν &c.] see *Chronol. Tab.* 3618.

22 ἀπηλάττειν τὸν πόλεμον] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas*. The *Athenians* were harassed on all sides by a kind of piratical war without bringing things to a general issue, sometimes infested by the people of *Agina*, then insulted by some of the other Islanders, and then by the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan.* V. 5. p. 89.

ib. ὅπως ἀγαπητὸν ἀπηλάττειν] were no less glad to get rid of the war. For the *Lacedæmonians* had more garrisons than they could maintain, saw their confederates revolting from them, and were, as most of the other Grecian states were, drained of their men and money. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 89.

24 ὡς Κερειῶν χερσὶν ἐκείνων δαχμῶν] Soon after the confederacy was formed against the *Lacedæmonians*, a battle was fought in the territories of *Corinth*, wherein the *Lacedæmonian* allies were almost entirely routed; but the *Lacedæmonians* themselves maintained their ground, and pressed so hard upon the *Athenians*, who were directly opposite to them, that they recovered the day and beat the *Athenians* with the loss only of eight men. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 77. which makes it probable that the defeat was occasioned, as is here intimated, by their *δαχμῶν* having a great disadvantage in the ground.

30 ὡς Λεχαιῶν ἀποδοσίαν] *Lechaum* was a haven belonging to and adjoining to *Corinth*. — The more wealthy part of the *Corinthians* soon grew tired of the war against the *Lacedæmonians* because the chief seat of it lay in their territories, and were

were inclinable to a peace: This was opposed by the magistrates and others in the *Athenian* interest, by whose contrivance a massacre was made of several of the principal inhabitants: They who escaped, managed so as to let a party of the *Lacedæmonians* into *Lechæum*, who killed several of the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Boeotians*.

2 ἐκαστόν τις ἐκ τῆς θυλάκης] first by *Conon*, and afterwards by *Ipbicrates*.

10 μεμενημένος — πᾶσι ἄνδρα] N. the difference of number.

13 ἄκοντος κῆλη] viz. τύχη yielding to the stroke of adverse fortune; Or, γνώμη yielding out of cowardice.

17 διαμειβεμαι] I am obliged in justice to.

ib. ἐπίσηκτον] solemnly enjoined us to —

22 Ω παῖδες &c.] *Demetrius Phalereus* cites this passage, as an instance of the great force which the *Proseporæia* has in Oratory.

ib. ἐς πατέρων] viz. ἑσ.

3 I 1 τὸς ἵππων] viz. ἱουμένους, posterity.

3 αἰχμῶν] *Hom. I. ζ. 208.* μοι μὲν πάλ' ἐπίπικον

Αἰὼν ἔρπειν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔχον ἔμμενον ἄλλων

Μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰχμῶνιν —

7 τίττω] sc. σφάζω &c. viz. ἀετὶς p. 31. l. 7.

9 κῆλε φέρει τὴν κεκομημένην] brings with it any thing upon which a man can with reason value himself, ἐφ' ᾧ τις κομῶνεται; the word κῆλες is here opposed to τὴν αἰχμῶνιν: in l. 11. it is used in the common sense.

20 καὶ ὑμῶς νεώτεροι] viz. ἄνθρωποι.

25 μὴ δι' αὐτὸν &c.] *Hom. II. ζ. 446. de Heftore.*

Διότμος πατὴρ τὸ μῆζα κλῆος ἢδ' ἐμὸν αὐτῷ.

32 I 1 αἶμα γὰρ πατρὸς γέντων ἐκγόνοις (ἢ) καλὸς θησαυρὸς] for it is a noble treasure to Children to have the honours of their Ancesters to inherit.

7 ἔδεις ὑμῶς καὶ διέξεται] alluding to the opinion that souls departed retained the same affections in the regions below, as when alive. thus *Dido* is represented *Æneid. B. 6. v. 467. Torva tuens* — solo fixos oculos averſa tenens, when *Æneas* spake to her; agreeably to the example of *Ajax's* behaviour towards *Ulyſſes* *Οδυσσ. λ. 592.*

9 ἀ καὶ παρεμυθησάμην] supply φάμι ὥτως παρεμυθησάμην or παρεμυθησάμην. or from l. 8. τότε ἀνέειπεν.

11 ἐκκομίζεσθαι] join with them in their lamentations; thereby aggravating their grief.

15 ἢ γὰρ ἀθανάτους &c.] *Cic. de Amic.* Nisi enim (quod ille minime optabat) immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non est adeptus, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam &c. *Ἐφ' Sall. B. Jug.* Neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni, honestique vitam exigent.

- 18 καὶ φιλίας] viz. ἡ (ἀνταρραβίατος ἀδελφία) φιλία — ἡ
 22 καὶ δὲ ἀδελφία τούτων] viz. ἀδελφία, ἀδελφία καὶ φιλία ἀδελφίας &c.
- 33 1 Μὲν ἄλλω] Many names are cited for the Authors of this
 prudential maxim. see *Erasmii Dialogis*, Ne quis nimis.
 2 ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀδελφία &c.] *Cic. Parad.* vi. Nemo potest non beatissimus esse, qui est totus aptus ex solo, quique in se uno sua ponit omnia: Cui spes omnis et ratio et cogitatio pendet ex fortunâ, huic nihil potest esse certi.
 7 ὅτι, γυμνασίον &c.] *Cicero Tusc. Disp.* B. 5. renders the passage as if it stood thus, ὅτι γυμνασίον καὶ ἀγῶνας αἰσθημάτων ἐξηρκεῖται, ἡ μάχη παιδῶν, πᾶσι &c. hic, & nascentibus & cadentibus cum reliquis commodis, tum maxime liberis, parebit &c. and then adds, Ex hoc Platonis quasi quodam sancto augustoque fonte nostra omnis manabit tractio.
 10 ταῦτα δὲ &c.] *Hor. B.* 2. 210.
 ταῦτα τοι γένεσι πὶ τῇ αἵματι δόχμον ἄναι.
 19 ἀφ' οὗ ὃ ἐμπεριεῖται] supply φιλίας —
- 34 5 ἐπιμαλίσσονται] N. the transition from the plural to the singular ἐπιμαλίσσεται l. 7.
 lb. τὸς μὲν παιδίσκας κοροῖας, τοὺς δὲ νεοτεφεύοντες ἀέλιος] It was one of *Solon's* laws, that the Parents and Children of such as were cut off in war should be taken care of: If Parents were killed, their children were put to school at the publick charge; and when come to maturity of age, were presented with a whole suit of Armour, and settled every one in his respective calling, and honoured with the best seats in all publick places: — And in general, the care of the Publick was extended to the children of all such as had been eminently serviceable to the Publick. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 138. V. 2. p. 119, 275, 346.
 18 ἀρχὴ πάντῃ μεγίστη ἐστίν] viz. the *Archons*; more especially the *Πολύτακτος*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 77.
 lb. φιλαέλειαν — ὅπως ἂν εἰ τούτων μὴ ἀδινώσται] Such as had received the honour of any privilege from the city of *Athens* were under its more particular care and protection; and the injuries done them, were resented as publick affronts to the commonwealth; inasmuch that whosoever did affront, strike, or speak ill of any such person, was by the Law declared *Infamulus*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 199.
 20 οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ] viz. in the *Prytæneum*. The being entertained at the publick expence was a compliment occasionally paid in consideration of services done to the Publick, and was reputed one of the highest honours at *Athens*. In what manner or under what regulation this publick maintenance was exhibited does not appear. In general, there seems to have been a publick Table kept for the *Prytanæi*, or the standing Committee of the Council of 500 for managing affairs of State.

- 34 State: Their common fare is said to have been frugal enough; consisting of a sort of cakes or puddings called *μυζα*. Upon holidays they had an allowance of bread: and as for flesh, the tenths of all the bellies of animals offered in sacrifice were always reserved for them. *see Archæol. V. 3. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 119.* Tho' it should seem from some bantering expressions of *Aristophanes*, that the ordinary diet was not always the most frugal, nor bestowed merely in consideration of publick services. But, that the publick provision in general was moderate, we may collect from what was paid to the Outpensioners, or such as had been disabled in the wars; which was more or less, according to the exigency of publick affairs, and the circumstances of particular persons; sometimes 3 *Oboli* (or almost 4d.) sometimes 2 *Oboli* (or a little more than 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$) and sometimes 1 *Obolus* (or 1d. *qu.*) a day; and this on supposition that they had not a yearly estate of three Attick *Minae* (or 9l. 13s. 9d.) In *Demosthenes's* time the *στυπαιοι* or subsistence money of a common foot soldier was two *Oboli*, *per diem*. Phil. 1. §. 10. The whole pay of a foot Soldier four *Oboli*. *Archæol. V. 2. p. 8, 9.*
- ib. *αεθρομυμιν' ἢ μάλιστα ἀλλοις αὐτοῖς τὴν ἱερὰν αἰσίδα]* being desirous to have them rendered as little sensible as may be, of their Orphan-state —
- 23 *ὡς ἀνδρὸς τριῶν]* to the rank of manhood. viz. at the age of 20 years.
- 24 *πρωτοπλὴς ἡγεμύσιον]* *see p. 11. l. 12. and p. 34. l. 5.* At the time of performing this ceremony the following oath was taken by the *Epbæti*. "I'll never do any thing to disgrace
 "this armour; I'll never fly from my post, nor desert my
 "General; but I'll fight for my country and religion, in an
 "army or single combat; I'll never be the cause of weak-
 "ning or endamaging my country, and if it be my fortune
 "to sail on the seas, my country thinking fit to send me in a
 "colony, I'll willingly acquiesce, and enjoy that land which
 "is allotted me. I'll firmly adhere to the present constitu-
 "tion of affairs, and whatsoever enactments the People shall
 "please to pass, I'll see no body violate or pervert them;
 "but I'll either singly by myself, or by joining with others,
 "endeavour to revenge them. I'll conform to my country's
 "Religion. If occasion require, I'll lay down my life for
 "my native country. My endeavours to extend the domi-
 "nions of *Athena* shall never cease, while there are wheat,
 "barley, vineyards, and olive-trees without its limits. *Ar-
 chæol. V. 1. p. 151.*
- 35 *3 ἐν τῇ πρωτοπλῇ αἰσίδῃ]* to take possession of their paternal house and estate. — It is probable, and this expression seems to imply, that this Ceremony was not observed, at least with those

35 those particular marks of solemnity, with regard to all the *Atbenians* indiscriminately, but only to young persons of superior fortunes.

5 *αὐτὸν ἔργον ἐκείνου*] *Cicero* asserts that this very Oration of *Plato* was recited publicly upon every return of this anniversary solemnity (I suppose in his time.) *Orator* §. 151. *Platonis Oratio, qua mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos, qui sint in præliis interfecisti, — sic probata est, ut tam quætantis, ut scis, illo die recitari necesse sit.*

ib. *αὐτὸν ἔργον ἐκείνου*] The care of funeral rites among the *Grecians* was looked upon as a debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it, were thought accursed: hence they were called *ἄφρονες*, *ἄφρονες*, *ἄφρονες*, *ἄφρονες*; and, among the *Romans*, *jussa*; all which words imply an inviolable obligation upon the Living to take care of the obsequies of the Dead. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 161.

7 *ἀγῶνας ὑποκρίσεις καὶ ἰστορίας — καὶ μὲν τὰς ἑλπίδας*] These Games were not intended merely to serve the purpose of amusement to idle persons; but principally to raise a spirit of emulation in all valuable accomplishments; for the particulars here referred to were constant parts of a liberal education in *Greece*. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 227. *Roth* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. §. 10.

ib. *ἀγῶνας ὑποκρίσεις*] of all the liberal arts, particularly Oratory and Poetry; nor was the practical part of Musick excepted: for the more solemn performance whereof *Pericles* built a magnificent *Odeum*, or Musick-Theatre at *Athens*.

12 *ἡλικίᾳ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑταίρων*] *Schema* dict. *Latine consilium*. thus *Xenoph.* K. II. II. *ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑταίρων*, *Rom.* 12. 3. *μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑταίρων* καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ ἰστορίας. and 2 *Cor.* 9. 8. *ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑταίρων* καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ ἰστορίας. *ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑταίρων* καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ ἰστορίας. *ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑταίρων* καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ ἰστορίας.

36 *ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν*] but above all

4 *καὶ τὰς ἑλπίδας*] *καὶ* (viz. *ἐξ*, *ἐκ* or *ἐκ*) *ἐκ*.

6 *πολιτικῶς*] alluding to his love of politics, which *Socrates* daunters at the beginning of the Dialogue: p. 12. §. 3 &c.

NOTES

UPON

L Y S I A S.

- 37³ **E** ξ ἄλλων ἡμεῶν] viz. διαδύσαν] at a short warning of a few days. so 1. 7. ξ ἄλλων, viz. καὶ διαδύσαντες.
- ⁴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις] see *Thucyd.* p. 2. 1. 1.
- 38² ἀπειροί] see *Thuc.* p. 7. 1. 15.
- ⁶ μνηστὴν πάρος τις Φοῖβος δακρύων] taking my account from tradition. The Grecians for a long while followed only their first guide Tradition, in tracing back the footsteps of former ages. Some fix the Attick æra at the flood of Ogyges. Plutarch makes an excuse for beginning so high as *Thebes*: *Dionysius Halicarn.* says there was nothing certain before the Trojan war: *Varro* calls the beginning of the *Olympiads* the *Historical Times*: *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is writ of Greece before the reign of *Cyrus*; and Others place the most antient Historians but a little before the descent of the *Perſian*. *Stan. Pref.* V. 1.
- ⁷ οἰκτις] viz. those solemn Odes, which were sung in honour of the victors in the *Olympick* games, and other great men in the more august feasts and ceremonies of Religion, particularly at the festival of *Panathenæa*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 420. *Rollin.* V. 4.
- ⁸ τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνημοῖς] in the commemorations of brave men, whose praises were upon solemn occasions celebrated in set harangues: this expression relates to profaic compositions, as the foregoing does to poetical.
- ⁹ κλέος τις μινύτος] viz. ἀντιόπην upon such solemn occasions as these.
- ¹⁰ Ἀμαζόνες] Some place the country of the *Amazons* in *Scythia*, (and agreeably therunto make *Thermadan* a river in *Scythia*, because the *Amazons* are by All agreed to have dwelt near it.) Others in *Cappadocia*. *Herodotus* B. 4. c. 100, &c. gives an account how a great many of them came to be transported from their original settlements of *Cappadocia* into *Scythia*. — The *Amazonian* war was occasioned by *Theſeus's* taking a romantick voyage into the *Euxine* sea, and bringing off from among the *Amazons* his wife *Antiope*, or, as others call-

NOTES

UPON

L Y S I A S.

37 ³ *Εἰς ἄλγος ἡμεῖς* viz. *Ἀνδρῶν* at a short warning of
a few days. so *1. 7. 25* *ἡμεῖς* viz. *ἡμεῖς* *Ἀνδρῶν*.

38 ⁴ *ταῖς ἐπισημασίαις* [see *Thuc.* p. 2. 1. 1.]
² *ἀνθρώποις* [see *Thuc.* p. 7. 1. 15.]
⁵ *ἐν μνήμῃ πατρὸς τῆς Φοῖβης Ἀρτέμιδος* taking my account from tradi-
tion. The Grecians for a long while followed only their first
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8 *ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μνήμασι* in the commemorations of brave men,
whose praises were upon solemn occasions celebrated in set
harangues: this expression relates to profane compositions, as
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as these.

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(and agreeably therunto make *Thermadon* a river in *Scythia*,
because the *Amazons* are by All agreed to have dwelt near
it) Others in *Cappadocia*. *Herodotus* B. 4. c. 100, &c. gives
an account how a great many of them came to be transported
from their original settlements of *Cappadocia* into *Scythia*.
— The *Amazonian* war was occasioned by *Theseus's* taking
a romantick voyage into the *Euxine* sea, and bringing off
from among the *Amazons* his wife *Antiope*, or, as others called

and her Hippolyte. These warlike women upon this came from their habitations, and gave the Athenians battle. But this war is so differently related, that some have fancied that there were two expeditions of that kind, and that Antiope and Hippolyte were two different women: *Idem*. V. m. p. 150.

39 Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰππολύτων] as all other warlike people were supposed to derive their pedigree from *Mars*.

23 παύσιν δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγῶνις happening contrary to their expectation to meet with brave men.

1b. ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ φύσει] they had upon this occasion souls besitting their sex i. e. they showed forth no more courage than what might be expected from the female sex.

24 δὲ ἐκέρχον τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρῶν] and gaining a reputation quite contrary to what they had hitherto maintained i. e. losing their reputation for courage.

39 Ἰ μῦθοι ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἢ ἐν τῷ σπέρματι ἴδεναι ἀνὰ γυναικῶν] showed themselves to be Women more from the dangers (i. e. the manner in which they behaved under dangers) than by their bodies, which being ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρῶν p. 38. l. 12. looked as terrible as those of any Men could do.

3 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν] viz. ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρῶν with regard to their future conduct.

31 Ἀδρῶν &c.] see *Plat.* p. 20. l. 3.

15 τὰς αἰσῶν τὴν ἐκείνου] The duties belonging to the Dead were thought of greater importance, and the neglect of them to be a crime of a blacker character than those required by the Living. And even among the most Barbarous nations it was reckoned an unpardonable crime to defraud them of any due respect; it was thought a sign of a cruel and inhuman disposition to prosecute revenge beyond the grave, and a great propitiation to the infernal Gods (as also to τῶν ἑνὸς Θεοῦ p. 39. d. 15.); and such as would call up certain vengeance, to neglect any opportunity, which offered of paying this debt of burial to any carcase, which a person accidentally met with, even tho' a stranger. *Idem*. V. 20. p. 160, 161.

23 τὴν ἐκείνου] see *Plato* p. 35. l. 5.

40 ὅς τις ἐκείνου] the hopes, which all men may reasonably indulge, of having their funeral rites duly performed. — or, of being relieved by the assistance of those common friends to the distressed, the Athenians. — or the common hope of resting after Death, so which rest Interment was necessary.

1b. ἔκ τινος, quia certis, ἀπὸς ὑπερμαχίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν &c.]

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40 catching it or taking it from the top of the goal after the *pasceur* or judges had passed sentence that it belonged to the victor: and in respect of the *pasceur* the prize was called *pasceur*. So *Phil.* 3. 18: see *Hammond*. 1 *Cor.* 9. 24.

11 *τὰ σώματα*] viz. the bodies of the slain.

13 *ἐν τῇ ἐνὶ Θέῳ*] viz. *ἐν τῇ ἐνὶ Θέῳ*.

16 *τὸ ἐνὶ τῇ ἐνὶ Θέῳ*] a Hero so celebrated as *Hercules* could not be supposed to die a common death; much less would it be proper for the Orator to hint at either of the only determine accounts what became of him; viz. that he fell a sacrifice to the jealous resentment of his mistress by poison, or that he burnt himself in a fit of phrenzy; and therefore by this ambiguous expression he has left it to his Audience to suppose him to have been honoured with a sort of assumption into the assembly of the Gods; in consideration of his beneficial services to mankind. He is supposed to have died about the 54 year of his age. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 37.

ib. *αὶ δὲ μισθὸς*] about sixty in number. See *Plato* p. 20. l. 3.

ib. *Εὐρύπην*] The relation between *Eurystheus* and *Hercules* is settled in this manner. — *Perseus* K. of *Mycenæ* left several sons behind him: among others *Alceus*, *Stenelus* and *Elestyon*. *Alceus* was the Father of *Amphitryon*; *Stenelus* of *Eurystheus*; and *Elestyon* of *Alcmena*. *Amphitryon* married *Alcmena*, upon whom *Jupiter* begat *Hercules*. — *Perseus* was succeeded in his Kingdom successively by *Elestyon*, *Stenelus* and *Eurystheus*. *Rolfin.* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 4.

18 *τοῖς ἑσπέρῃ*] viz. this cruel usage of *Eurystheus*.

19 *ἐν τῇ ἐνὶ τῇ ἐνὶ τῇ*] Temples, Statues, and Altars of the Deities were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting offenders was granted; so that if any malefactor fled to them it was accounted an act of sacrilege to force him thence; not that all Temples were sanctuaries, but only such as received that privilege from the manner of consecration. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 198, 201. But this probably was the case in aftertimes, when the number of Temples &c. was so much increased, as must have, without such limitation, entirely obstructed the execution of justice upon malefactors. This Altar at *Arborea*, whether it was now erected by the *Heracleids*, or whether it was one that they took refuge at, became one of the most celebrated *Asyla* of antiquity. See *Hospinian.* *de Templis*. B. 1. c. 13.

41 *ἡ γὰρ ἡ ἐν τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐν τῇ*] for upon the Death of the *Heracleids* into *Peloponnesus*, the whole government of all the several kingdoms of it, excepting *Arcadia*, was transferred into new hands; and many of the inhabitants were likewise obliged to quit their settlements and remove into different parts. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 38, &c.

42 *elder respectively*, i. e. And thus each man finding himself to have a common interest to support by engaging in the dangers—
23 *πρὸς τὴν αἰῶνα*] influenced by principles suitable to their noble birth.

43 3 *μοῖσι — δεῖ*] viz. at Marathon by Land, against the forces of Darius; and at Artemisium at Sea, against the navy of Xerxes.

10 *ἐπιστάτας τῆς ἑκάστης*] It does not appear that the Grecian States were divided in their several sentiments upon this occasion; tho' they remarkably were so afterwards, before the fight at Salamis. The Athenian Generals indeed were not unanimous in their resolutions; tho' at length they all yielded to Miltiades. Herodot. L. 6. c. 109.

19 *ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτοῖς*] not computing the danger, which must have discouraged them from attacking such superiority of numbers.

21 *λόγῳ*] referring to *λογισμῷ* above.

24 *ἐκ ἀνέμενον ἐπιδόσθαι*] not to wait for the good effects of their solicitation; for in fact they did send to Lacedæmon. Herod. L. 6. c. 106. *ἐν βουλήναι*, not to wait till they actually sent supplies: for supplies were sent, tho' too late for the action. *ib.*

44 5 *οὐ μὴ ψυχὰς ἀμοιρίας κατέλθῃ*] The sentiment seems to denote no more than that by losing their lives they secured to themselves renown. The expression indeed is very affected and made use of probably for the sake of the Antithesis between *ψυχ.* ἀμοιρίας & *μνημ.* ἵδαν. If the meaning be, that "they looked on their Lives as not their own, but their Fame as their own for ever" compare it with *Luke* 16: 12. "If ye have not been faithful in what you are not intitled to keep, how can ye expect the true and lasting happiness to be conferred on You?" *Isocrates* has used a similar expression, *ὥστε ἐν ἀμοιρίας ψυχὰς μάχης κινῶμεν, ἡμῶν. p. 136. Thucydides* before them both, B. 1. had, *ἐν τοῖς μὲν σάμασι ἀμοιρίαντες ὡς αἰῶνος χρόνῳ.*

11 *ὁ φιλοψυχίαντις*] not entertaining an unseasonable, ill-timed love of their own lives —

12 *τὸς περ αὐτοῖς νόμοις*] see particularly the oath taken by the Ephēbi, *Archæol. V. 1. p. 151. Plat. 34. 24. and Lyf. 53. 13.*

13 *παρὰ τοῖς ἑσπέραις*] If there was any Treaty between Persians and Athenians hereby violated, it was probably that which was entered into immediately after the restoration of *Clisthenes*. *Strab. V. 1. p. 205.* In other editions it is *παρὰ τοῖς ἑσπέραις καὶ χερσίν*, passing over those boundaries whereby nature seemed to have limited the Persian territory, namely, the *Ægean sea*.

- 16 ἔνναι μὲν πολλὰν] viz. *xyftas* with so much expedition.
 44 ib. τὸν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἰσχυροῦς] i. e. *canndwddowro*. they went *for* the danger: this expression occurs again, p. 50. l. 21. In a different sense, the *Persians* are said; p. 43. l. 11. *andwos woudday*, to strike terror, namely by *bringing on the danger*.
 19 ἀλλοι] the rest of the *Greeks*—
 ib. ἀλλοι οὐκ εἰς τὴν παῖδα τὴν ἀνδρῶν] were put to any painful apprehensions about the impending danger.
 20 αἱ δὲ ἀνδρῶν—(ἀνδρῶν] but the first news they heard brought with it joy for the deliverance of their liberties.
 23 ζῆλῳ δὲ] is proposed as the model and pattern for their ambition and emulation to copy after—
 45 2 κατὰ φρονίμους τῆς ἐμάτης] see the debates in *Xerxes's* council to this purpose. *Herodot.* L. 7. c. 8, 9, 10, 11. and *Stan.* V. 1. p. 230. *Rollin* B. 6. c. 2.
 3 ἀνὰ τὴν αἰσῶν τὴν πατρὸς] thinking himself and his imperial dignity disgraced by the check that had been given to his father.
 4 ἀνὰ τῆς ἀτυχίας] unused to misfortunes, and consequently insistent.
 5 ἀνὰ τῆς ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρῶν] having as yet had no experience of the bravery of the men whom he was going to encounter. referring to the honest counsel given him on this occasion by *Artabanus*, which he rejected with disdain. *Herod.* L. 7.
 ib. δέκατῳ ἔτῳ] i. e. in the tenth year after the defeat at *Marathon*, but in the fifth year of his reign. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6: c. 2. §. 2.
 6 ἑκατὸν μὲν καὶ ἑξήκοντα πλοῖα] a round number for 1207 galleys, all with three banks of oars and intended for fighting. Each vessel carried 200 men, natives of the country which fitted them out; besides 30 more either *Persians*, *Medes*, or *Sacæ*, and in all 277,610 men. The *European* nations added 120 vessels carrying each 200; in all 24000. Besides these there were small galleys of 30 and 50 oars; transport-ships, victuallers and tenders, to the number of 3000; in each of which supposing 80 men, the amount is 240,000. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 3.
 7 ἐν τῇ σπέρμῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρῶν] In *Thrace* *Xerxes* found his land-army, brought by him out of *Asia*, consisted of 1700,000 foot and 80,000 horse; less than 20,000 to take care of the carriages and camels can't well be supposed: 300,000 joined him after passing the *Hellspont*; so that all his land-forces amounted to 2,100,000 men. When arrived at *Thermopylae* his land and sea-forces together made up the number of 2,541,510 men, without including women, servants, sutlers, &c. of which the number was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of souls in *Xerxes's* expedition amounted to 5,283,220. This is *Herodotus's* account, in which

- 45 which *Herodotus* and *Plutarch* agree. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo* fall much short of this number in their calculations. *Rollin* *ib.* *Prædix* P. 1. B. 4. p. 334.
- 10 [ἐν τῇ πλάτει] (*via. xēna*) the breadth was about 7 furlongs or near an *English* mile.
- 13 [ἐν τῇ πλάτει τῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν] *Sall. de Macella B. Jug.* Omnes asperitates superavadeo ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. and again, Naturam ipsam cæteris imperitantem industria vicebat. *Memph. K. II.* ἡ ἀσπίς μὲν ἡμεῖς δεξιὰς ἐν φρεσὶν ἐπονομαζόμεθα. — and ἡ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν φρεσὶν ἀσπίς.
- 16 [ἐν τῇ πλάτει τῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν] viz. by two bridges of galleys tyed together, and so well anchored that they resisted the winds. *Stan. V. 1. p. 235.* see them described out of *Herodot.* B. 7. c. 33. *Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 2.*
- ib. [ἐν τῇ πλάτει τῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν] *Atos* is a peninsula of *Macedonia* projecting a great way into the sea: The isthmus whereby it is joined to the land is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile over. In *Darius's* first expedition, conducted by *Mardonius*, his fleet attempting to double this peninsula, in order to gain the coast of *Macedonia*, was greatly shattered by a tempest to the loss of 300 ships, and 20,000 men. *Xerxes* upon this pretext gave orders for cutting thro' this mountain, and the passage then made was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars pass through it abreast. *Rollin V. 3. ib.*
- 17 [ἐν τῇ πλάτει τῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν] The greatest part of *Boeotia* and *Thessaly*, with other petty states, which lay most exposed, declared for the *Persians*: and the *Argives*, partly out of fear, partly out of inveterate hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, held secret intelligence with the enemy. *Stan. V. 1. p. 235.*
- 18 [ἐν τῇ πλάτει τῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν] *Sall. B. Cat. ad defendendum* (sc. *ad prohibendam audaciam*) opes minores sunt.
- 21 [ἐν τῇ πλάτει τῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν] The chief dependance as sea was upon *Athens*; *Themistocles* had by exerting himself increased their navy to near 200 sail; these together with the fleet of the confederates made 280. *Hind. p. 302. Stan. V. p. 237.*
- 22 [ἐν τῇ πλάτει τῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν] The number of men dispatched to oppose the *Persians* was 6000, under *Leonidas* one of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings: In this body there were but 300 *Lacedæmonians*; the rest consisting of *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Arcadians*, and several other lesser states, who each of them furnished such proportions as they were able to raise in the present exigency, assigning particular captains to their own troops; but *Leonidas* had the command of the whole. *Stan. V. 1. p. 236.*

24 *ἄρ' τὴν στενότητα*] The freights of *Thermopylae* were a narrow pass of 25 foot wide, between the mountains, which divided *Thessaly* from the rest of *Greece*. There were in it the remains of a wall with gates to it; which the *Phocians* had formerly built to secure themselves against the incursions of the *Thessalians*: And from these Gates, and some *Hot Baths*, which were at the entrance into the *Pass*, it obtained the name of *Thermopylae*, *Stan. V. 1. p. 236.*

46 ¹ *Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖτοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ*] The fight at and about *Artemisium* continued two days, in both which the *Greeks* suffered very much by reason of the superior number of the Enemy's shipping; but as the Enemy left the sea and the wreck and spoils to the *Greeks*, the victory might be adjudged to them. *Hind. p. 314, 315. Stanyan V. 1. p. 242.*

3 *ἄλλ' αὖ τοῦ πλείους ψυδοῖντις &c.*] *Leonidas* maintained his post at *Thermopylae* with great bravery and success for 3 days; But finding himself likely to be attacked in the rear, he gave leave to the rest of the confederates to go off; upon which he was deserted by the rest except 300 *Lacedaemonians* with some *Thebians* and *Thebans*, in all about 1000 men; who, after making a carnage of 20000, were overpowered by numbers. *Hind. p. 311. Stan. V. 1. p. 232. Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.*

5 *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡγήγετης*] viz. *ἑταίρεσσιν*, for there is no verb in the sentence.

13 *ἀλάστωται*] viz. *ἡ πόλις*.

19 *ἰξίλιπον &c*] see *Plato 22. 15. and 23. 9.*

47 ¹ *οἱ δὲ μέγας καὶ δεινὸς &c.*] *Xerxes* after he had burnt *Athens* marched down toward the sea to act in conjunction with his fleet, which was come to *Phalerus*, an *Athenian Port*. And whilst he was concerting measures with his Officers, the *Grecians* near *Salamis* were much dispirited and divided in their councils; the *Lacedaemonians* and others being for abandoning *Salamis* and making their stand at the *Isthmus*. But by the stratagem of *Themistocles* the engagement was brought on before the *Grecian* fleet separated; and by his conduct, and the courage and skill of the *Athenians*, a compleat victory was obtained. *Hind. p. 321, &c. Stan. V. 1. p. 245, &c.* So that during that season of debate among the *Grecians*, when their divisions in council had nearly proved fatal to them, there is fair room for imagining the scene which is here so oratorically described.

6 *ἄλλων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι*] their wives and children were the prize for which they were to contend. The *Σαλαμῖνιοι* therefore upon this occasion might be considered as the *βροῦνται* of this glorious contest.

47 9 τὸ αὐτὸν ἀναδίδω] *because they foresaw it to be, as it were, inevitable*: And therefore being thus prepared for it, the evil of it lessened in their apprehensions.

19 παντός] Before the Grecian armies adventured to join their enemies they endeavoured by prayers, vows, and sacrifices to engage Heaven to their assistance, and sung an Hymn to Mars called Παιὼν ἱμῶσπιος, as that sung to Apollo after a prosperous battle was termed Παιὼν ἱππικίος. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 76. In *Xen.* K. Π. ζ. p. 482. the Pæan is distinguished from the Hymn to Mars. Κύρος — ἐξῆρχε παιῶνα, σωμαπύχισα δὲ πᾶσι ὁ κρατός. Μοῦσε δὲ τῷ τῷ Εὐαλίῳ τὸ ἄμφοι ἐπηλάλαξαν — see also *Xenoph.* K. Π. γ. p. 195. *Hutch.* not. Besides Hymns of a religious kind, it has been customary with all armies, as well those of civilized nations as barbarous, at the time of coming to an engagement, to endeavour to strike terror into their enemies, and to encourage their friends, by the shouting repetition of some certain words peculiar to themselves; instances whereof are cited in great variety. *Lippsius de militiâ Romanâ*, L. 4. Dial. 11. *Neque frustra antiquitus institutum est, ut signa undique concinerent, clamoremque universi tollerent: quibus rebus et hostes terreri et suos incitari existimaverunt.* *Cæsar de Bell. civil.* L. 3.

48 3 θυσῶν ἀναμνήσεως] *the recital of the sacrifices, which they had formerly offered, such as Chryses makes Il. æ. 40.* — Or. *Vows of future sacrifices*; which is agreeable to *Plutarch*, who informs us, that *Pericles* summoned all the *Grecians* to *Athens* to consult concerning the sacrifices, which they were indebted upon the vows they made to the Gods for the safety of *Greece*, when they fought against the *Barbarians.* *vit. Pericl.*

17 Θημιστοκλῆα] see his character distinctly drawn. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 281, &c.

18 γυνῶν ἐκρίναται] *of exquisite wisdom and foresight.*

21 ἀρετῆα τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐλαβόν παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος] After their victory at *Salamis*, *Themistocles* and the rest of the commanders of the *Grecian* navy went and exacted contributions of the several Islands which had favoured the *Persians*: And afterwards upon a general rendezvous of the confederates at the *Isthmus*, the Generals were unanimous in their praises of *Themistocles*; and the *Lacedæmonians* themselves gave him marks of extraordinary esteem, carrying him with them to *Lacedæmon*, crowning him with olive, presenting him with a rich chariot, and at his return home conducting him to the confines of their territories with 300 Horse. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 254.

23 τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁμοιοῦσιν τοῖς κινδύνοις] *a happiness great in proportion to the dangers which they had undergone.*

- 49 ⁵ Πελοποννησίων Μεταρχίζοντων τῷ Ἰσθμῷ.] All along from the first attempt of *Xerxes*, it was the favorite scheme of the *Lacedæmonians* to place their only confidence in the defence of *Peloponnesus*, and thereby to secure *Latonia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 253. *Hind.* p. 302. With this view, when *Mardonius*, who had been left by *Xerxes* to prosecute the war, invaded *Attica*, and took the city of *Athens* a second time, the *Lacedæmonians* still continued intent upon their old scheme of fortifying the *Isthmus* at *Corinth* by a wall, regardless of the repeated remonstrances of the *Athenians* to march out and face the common danger; till the *Athenians* threatened them to join with the enemy and leave them to shift for themselves. Upon which the *Lacedæmonians* sent a reinforcement of 5000 men besides 7000 *Helots*; and gave the *Athenians* leave to levy 5000 more. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 257, &c. *Hind.* p. 332. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 9.
- 6 ἀμαρτάνων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ.] contented with the mean thought of securing their lives, regardless how much their honour and reputation would suffer by such conduct.
- 12 οὐτ' ὀκνεύουσιν δούρειν χελῖν ἰάν] that they (the Barbarians) would not want 1000 ships i. e. they would have enough to make an invasion upon the Coasts of *Peloponnesus*. the sense seems to require a transposition. viz. τούτοις — ἔκαστος.
- 13 ἀκινδυνῶς] without his running any hazard either to obtain or preserve it — without striking a blow.
- 17 ἰσορροπεύει ἐπὶ Πλαταιῶν] see *Plato* 23. 9.
- 18 ἀποδράντων ὃ καὶ νύκτωρ τῶν πλοίων συμφέχων &c.] The two armies continued near *Platæa* for 11 or 12 days, which were spent only in slight skirmishes and traversing each others motions. The *Grecians* supposing things could not be presently brought to an issue, thought it necessary to remove their camp for the convenience of water; but breaking up in the night, were pretty much dispersed, and some of them missed their way. In the morning *Mardonius*, imputing their disorder to cowardice, pursued them with great violence; and charged their Rear, which consisted chiefly of *Lacedæmonians*. But they being assisted by the *Tegeans* maintained their ground with great slaughter of the Enemy; and some other *Grecian* troops coming up completed the victory. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 261. *Hind.* p. 336. *Rollin*.
- 22 τῶν Θεβαγίων καὶ Ἰθακησίων] the *Thebans* and *Thessalians* sided with the *Persians*, and in a body of 5000 men endeavoured to intercept the *Athenians*, who were making all the haste they could to have a share in the action. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 337. *Rollin*.

- 50 7 *ἴσμεν δὲ χρόνῳ*] viz. about 23 years afterwards.
 10 *αἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ &c.*] The *Æginetans* had always made a considerable figure in Greece for their skill in sea-affairs; and it was chiefly in their bickerings with them that the *Athenians* layed the foundation of their greatness. *Stan. V. 1. p. 220.* They had likewise gained great reputation by their service against the *Persians*, and could ill bear the excessive growth of the *Athenians*, who having defeated them at sea made a descent and blocked up their city. The *Peloponnesians* sent 300 men to it's relief: And the *Corinthians* took this opportunity, whilst the *Athenian* forces were divided betwixt *Ægypt* and *Ægina* to make incursions into *Megaris*, and seized upon the fortrefs of *Geranea*. But the *Athenians* marched out of the city to a man against them under the conduct of *Myronides*. In the first battle the *Corinthians* without reason pretended to have the better: but upon coming to erect a trophy, a second ensued, wherein they were intirely defeated. *Stan. V. 1. p. 302.*
- 12 *πολιεύμενοι* — *Ἀίγυπτον*] viz. the city *Memphis* in *Ægypt*. see *Plato. 23. 21.*
- 13 εἰ ἡλικίας] those who were of age for military service. see *Thucyd. 3. l. 14.*
- 16 *Γεγεννημένος*] a fortrefs situate upon the summit of a high hill in the territory of *Megara*, commanding the passage to the *Isthmus*.
- 18 *ἔδινε ἐν πολέμῳ μετὰ πλεονεξίᾳ*] had too much spirit and resolution to send for a single man of them —
- 51 10 *οἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐκαστοὶ δύνανται, οἱ δὲ αὖτε τῷ κοινῷ ἰουλεύοντο*] They all betook themselves to their proper business respectively, the young men returning to their former exercises and course of discipline, the aged to consult for the good of the State —
- 17 *ἰσθμίωνοντο ἔτι*] The *Athenian* Empire began soon after the defeat of the *Persians* at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, and continued till the demolition of the walls of *Athens* by *Lyfander*, i. e. about 73 years. *Stan. V. 2. p. 2.*
- 19 *τοῖς Ἰλυσίοις τὰς πόλεις δυνάμειν*] alluding to that earnestness with which the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to establish their own model of *Oligarchical* government where-ever they obtained influence.
- 20 *ἀναγκάζοντες*] The *Athenians* no less exerted themselves in establishing, and obliged others to use, the *Democrattical* form.
- 24 *ὡς ἰδοὺ τῶν*] (i. e. τῶν) *ἑαυτῶν*. see l. 22.
- 52 1 *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χρόνῳ*] during that period of time. — After the repeated victories of the *Athenians* under *Cimon*, the *Persians* were glad to treat upon any terms: and a peace was concluded extremely honourable on the *Grecians* side, the chief articles being, "That the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* should be

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"be left in the quiet enjoyment of their liberty; and that
 "both the land and sea forces of the *Persians* should be kept
 "at such a distance from the *Grecian* seas, as not to give any
 "umbrage." *Stan.* V. 1. p. 291. the words of the treaty
 as recited by *Diodor. Sic.* L. 12. are, ἀντιστάμενος ἅμα πῶς καὶ
 τῶν Ἀσίων Ἑλλήνων πόλεις ἀπείσους, τὸς δὲ τῶν Περσῶν καταστροφὰς
 μὴ κτελεσθῆναι ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμερᾷ οὐδὲν, μηδὲ τῶν
 μετὰ τὴν πλῆθιν ὁκτὸς Φασήλιδος καὶ Κυνίου.

5] *Προστάται*] was the appellation of such citizens of
Athens as undertook the care and protection of the *Mitings*
 or *Sojourners*; who were obliged to choose out of the body
 of Citizens some Patron in whose name all their business was
 to be transacted, and who in consideration thereof was al-
 lowed to demand several services of them. *Archæol.* V. 1.
 p. 55. The expression therefore implies, that the *Athenians*
 ought to be considered in the same rank of superiority above
 the rest of the *Grecians*, as these *Προστάται* were at *Athens* in
 respect of the *Mitings*. so *Demosthenes* Olynth. 2. uses the
 word of those great Statesmen *Aristides*, *Miltiades* &c. un-
 der whose *Patronage* and Conduct the affairs of *Athens* were
 carried to the highest pitch of grandeur — Τότε μὲν δὲ τῶ-
 νον τὸν πρῶτον ἔρχετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔτι καὶ οὐκ ἔτι
 οὐκ ἔτι — §. 9.

5] ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ μόνους &c.] for which reason, they, the *Athenians*,
 have the justest pretensions to be considered as the principal of
 the *Grecian* States,

8] ἀποδομένῳ γὰρ τῶν νῶν] *Adimantus* one of the *Athenian* Ad-
 mirals was thought to have betrayed the fleet to *Lyfander*.
Stan. V. 1. p. 441.

10] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνοι] inasmuch as they were now exposed to
 the influence of the *Lacedæmonians*, and no power remained
 sufficient to oppose the *Persians*, as is implied afterwards;
 tho' what ground there was for such intimation does not ap-
 pear: No one certainly could be a greater curb upon the
Persians than *Agésilas* was.

13] ἑτέροις χρημάτων χορομένοις] for Others, viz. the *Lacedæmo-*
nians, being now at the head of the affairs of Greece —

ib. εὐκλεσαν μὲν ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλλήνοι] *Isocrates*, whose *Pane-*
gyrick is drawn upon much the same plan with this Oration
 of *Lyfias*, specifies these victories of the *Persians* more parti-
 cularly, εὐκλεσαν μὲν οἱ βαρβαροὶ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλλήνοι, ἡξίαν δὲ τῶν
 λατῆς, κατὰ τὸν ὅσον ἡ πόλις ἔστιν, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅς ἐστιν ἡ Δακτυλίου,
 Κρήνης καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον ἀπὸ τῆς Πιλοπόλεως καὶ οὐκ
 ποιεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, p. 145. Edit. Cant. But it may be ob-
 served, that this was done under the conduct of *Cimon*, who
 was so far from oppressing the *Grecian* Islands, &c. that he
 turned out the *Lacedæmonian* Governours, and set them free
 upon

- 52 upon the Democratical plan of Government: All this happened (according to *Xenophon* Ελλην, I. 4.) after the transactions, which *Lyfias* proceeds to difcant upon in the next paragraph: and therefore he properly enough makes use of the word ἐκχρην *I have been carried out of the regular order of time*, p. 53. 1.
- 18 κήρυξεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα] Tis well known to have been the custom among the *Greeks*, for those, who thought themselves obliged to express their grief or concern, to tear, or cut off their hair, and to shave their heads; and this was sometimes practiced by whole cities and commonwealths. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 197.
- 20 ὡς δυστυχὲς] *so unhappy was* —
- 22 ἱέμεν ἡγεμόνιν λαοκόρυτον] *having got, or to do with, other commanders of Greece.*
- 53 4 τριτάτους] see *Plat.* 26. l. 21.
- 5 πάντας πολέμους κικτημένοι] referring to the smallness of their numbers, who engaged in the attempt to recover their liberty: According to *Nepos* they were at first only 30. according to *Xenophon* 70. *Xenoph.* Κ. Π. Ζ. Ὡς γὰρ μάλιστα ἔθνη ἢ δεινὴ ἀνδρεία, τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους (c. i. quàm plurimos) ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συλλέχασθαι.
- 6 οὐκ ἔπειθ' ὅμως ἀναγκασθέντες] inasmuch as the Constitution was subverted, and the law had thereby lost its proper efficacy.
- 9 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] viz. for those who had gone into voluntary exile to avoid the Tyranny of the xxx.
- 10 πῶς συμφοραῖς ἀγαθωδέσφοι] *affluant with a generous shame* (as p. 43. l. 23. *at their misfortunes*; namely, that the *Lacedæmonians* should be able to reduce them to so low a condition.
- 13 συμμείχους μὲν ὄρεουσ] see the Oath taken by the *Ephēbi*. Note on *Plato* p. 34. l. 24. All the *Athenians* in the several tribes took the following Oath. "I will endeavour, with
 "my own hands, to kill that man, who shall dissolve the
 "Athenian Republick, or after its subversion shall bear any
 "office; and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from
 "guilt, in respect of the Gods or Dæmons, who shall take
 "away his life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the
 "distribution of his goods, I'll pass my vote that the slayer
 "shall have half; and he, that in the attempt shall have the
 "misfortune to lose his life, shall with his heirs have due
 "respect and honour from me." *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 155.
- ib. καὶ συνθήκας] When *Lyfander* proposed to erect the Oligarchy of the xxx Tyrants at *Athens*, *Tberamenes* alledged in opposition to his proposal, and read over the συνθήκη, the articles of capitulation, upon which *Athens* has surrendered to him,

- 53 him, one of which was ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συνθήκῃ περιετίθητο. *Diod. Sic. L. 14. ad Olymp. 94. 1.*
- 14 πολέμους τὸς ἀσπίδας ἐπιδέχοντας] for the *Lacedæmonians* kept in *Attica* a standing force to support the Oligarchy which they had established.
- 18 τὸς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους] Those *Lacedæmonians*, who fell in this war, had the privilege of being buried in the most honourable place of sepulture thro' the interest of their Countrymen, who supported the Government then established in *Athens*. This honour was granted likewise by the opposite party to some *Thebans*. p. 54. l. 11, 16.
- 21 τῶν] see *Plat.* 28. 20.
- 23 οὐκ ἐπὶ μνηρίῳ] see *Plat.* 27. 13. *not*.
- 54 4 ἀπολογισαίνεσθαι] vindicated themselves from the imputation of wanting true bravery and virtue.
- 7 βία παρόντων Πειλοποννησίων] *Lyfander* was sent by the *Lacedæmonians* to support the Oligarchy established at *Athens*, who together with his brother *Libys* the Admiral blocked the *Piræus* by sea and land; and thereby greatly distressed those who had fled thither. *Pausanias* likewise was sent with another body of men to support *Lyfander*. see *Plato* 26. 21. — 29. 24.
- 8 τῶν αὐτῶν] viz. πόλεον.
- 11 τὸς ξένους] Those *Thebans* who assisted the Exiles against the 30 Tyrants.
- 12 τὸ πλῆθος] for tho' the number which *Thrasybulus* had with him was comparatively but small, yet it was the cause of the πλῆθος which he defended.
- 17 βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίους] see *Plat.* 28. 5. — 29. 24.
- 18 πάλαι φίλοι] The *Corinthians* had in most instances been fast friends and allies to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Hind.* p. 141, 153, 410.
- 21 ἐπὶ ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες] viz. in the *Peloponnesian* war, when they acted against the *Athenians*.
- 55 2 τοὺς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχους] supply σύμμαχοι ἡσπέρου, as l. 3.
- 3 νικησάμενοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἔξω] for it was always usual with them when they came off victorious to admit others to the same privileges of freedom with themselves.
- 5 ἀνέστησαν] whenever they miscarried in their enterprises, the consequence was always fatal to the liberty of the *Peloponnesian* States.
- ib. αἰνέσαντες] the *Corinthians*.
- 7 ἔπειτα] The *Athenians* who went to their relief.
- 11 ἐπὶ ἀσπίδας] viz. in the *Corinthian* war under the command of *Iphicrates*; by whose extraordinary conduct and skill in military

- 55 military affairs a stop was put to the progress of the *Lacedæmonian* arms. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 8.
- 12 δυσχερέτω] see *Plat.* 40. 6.
- ib. πρὶν δ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν] (viz. χάρις) for the seat of the war lay chiefly about *Corinth*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 79.
- 19 πάντων ἀφ' ἡμετέροιο & ἀρετῆς] cuncta putas unâ virtute minora. *Hor.*
- 22 πολλῶν καὶ δεινῶν ὑπαρχόντων] notwithstanding that age is exposed to a variety of sad inconveniences, ζῆλον I think them happy in this respect that —
- 56 9 πῶτερον οὐ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς; ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν ἀπὸς καὶ τῆς αἰτίας μεμνηθῆναι] q. d. shall I endeavour to alleviate their concern by representing, that the calamity is not at all peculiar to themselves, but extended to the whole community as well as them? but this will be endeavouring to procure a remedy to one evil by running into another, it will raise in the rest of my audience the uneasy remembrance of those misfortunes.
- 18 ἅπασι ἐκείνοι] shew the same regard and value for them as they, viz. their own children, would have done.
- 57 2 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι δύν] i. e. οἶδ' ὅτι ἔστι δύν.
- 3 ἢ γὰρ ἐλαυνόμενοι &c.] *Cic. Tusc. Disput.* L. 3. Anaxagoram ferunt nuntiata morte filii dixisse, Sciebam me genuisse mortalem. *Vid. Ælian.* Var. Hist. L. 3. c. 2.
- 4 ἢ πάλας περὶ δυνάμειν &c.] *Cic. ib.* Quoniam multum potest provisio animi et præparatio ad minuendum dolorem, sint semper omnia homini humana meditata.
- 5 ἢ λίαν ἔτιν &c.] *Hom. II. ζ.*
Δαυμφίη, μή μοι τι λίην ἀρχέσῃς θυμῷ
Οὐ γὰρ πρὶν μὲν ἔτιν αἶσαν ἀνὴρ αἰεὶ παλαιάφῃ.
- 7 οὐτε γὰρ τὰς πενήτας &c.] *Hom. de Hectore. ib.*
Μοῖρα δ' ἐπὶνά φημι πεφυγμένοι ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,
Οὐ γὰρ πρὶν, ἐδὲ μὲν ἔδδον, ἐπὶν πενήτας γλῶσσται.
- 12 ἢ φύσις καὶ νόσος ἥτιν καὶ γῆρας] our Nature is such as must necessarily yield to the attacks of diseases and old-age.
- 22 ἀγῶνις — ῥώμης, καὶ σοφίας] see *Plato* p. 35. 7.
- 23 καὶ πλούτῳ] referring to the great charges which private persons were at in celebrating these festivals, vying with each other in the splendour of their preparations.
- ἀν' ἀξίας] *N. Accus.* absolute.
- 24 ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τὰς ἀθάναταις] — the same honours, as the immortal Gods —
- 25 τῷ θανάτῳ] (viz. ἔτιν).

58 *HYPERIDES* was an *Athenian* Orator, contemporary with *Demosthenes*, but supposed not to have been so hearty in the real interest of his country (see *Stan.* V. 2. p. 252.) However, he was very active in its service upon the death of *Alexander*, and was appointed to speak the funeral Oration over *Leosthenes* and those who fell in the *Lamian* war, as we learn from *Diod. Sic.* B. 18. Four years after he was seized by the command of *Antipater*, and put to death.

The fragment here reprinted is preserved by *Stobæus* Serm. 123. with *Hyperides*'s name affixed to it in the margin. Whether it was part of the Funeral oration above-mentioned is uncertain: From the expression *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Θεᾶς κατεσκευασμένους βουλευμάτων* it should seem to refer to some war undertaken upon a *religious* account. One of which kind happened in his time, namely, the *Phocian* or *Sacred* War; in which the zeal of one side was inflamed by the cry of *Religion*, and of the other by that of *Liberty*. The *Athenians* indeed took the latter party; but if the character of *Hyperides*, above referred to, be a just one, there is no improbability of his having in his younger years been a *Panegyrist* upon those who fell in support of the *Phocian* interest, which had its advocates, as *Demosthenes* represents also *Philip* to have had, among the then *Athenian* Orators.

The funeral Oration under the name of *Demosthenes* is thought to be spurious. (see *Taylor Lect. Lyfæc.* p. 681.)

NOTES

UPON

The Extracts from *Xenophon*.

CYRUS, the younger, being killed in his attempt to dethrone his elder brother *Artaxerxes*, K. of *Persia*, the *Grecian* Mercenaries, who attended *Cyrus* in that Expedition, were reduced to great difficulties by the treachery of their Asiatick Comrades, who immediately went over to *Artaxerxes*, and inveigled almost all the *Grecian* Commanders into the hands of the *Persians* under pretence of a truce and pacification : By whom they were put to death.

59 ⁵ *ὡς μὲν πόλεμος ἦ &c.*] viz. in the war which was terminated by the victories of *Lysander* about 3 years before.

8 *ἡδικῶσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας*] The *Lacedæmonians*, having ruined the power of the *Athenians* by *Lysander*, now affected the title of Guardians and Protectors of *Greece*. The whole coast of *Thrace* was lined with *Grecian* Colonies settled there for the advantage of Commerce. No wonder therefore if we hear of mutual jealousies and injuries passing between the old inhabitants and these new settlers.

9 *Ἐφόροι*] The *Ephori* were Magistrates at *Lacedæmon*, five in number (*Suid.*), appointed originally to be Inspectors under the Kings, and the supreme Council of State, as the Tribunes were among the Romans; but by degrees their Authority rose so high as to controul them and all other Officers whether Military or Civil. Their Sentences were final and admitted of no appeal, and were by them immediately carried into execution. see *Xenoph.* *περὶ Λακεδαιμ. πολιτείας*, C. *Nepos* in *Pausan.*

13 *πλῶν*] the *Spartan* Magistrates. The Scholiast. on *Thucyd.* B. 1. gives this for the reason of the appellation, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅτι αὐτοὺς πλεῖν τοὺς ἀρχόντας ἦν.*

15 *ἀπαρχή*] viz. in the first B. of the *Αναβάσεως*.

16 *μυρία Δαρικῶν.*] The *Daric* was a piece of money so called from *Darius*, named in Scripture *Darius the Median* (the same with *Cyaxares*, Father in Law to *Cyrus* the Elder.) It is probable that he caused it to be made at *Babylon* out of the vast quantity of Gold which had been brought into his Treasury,

68 Notes upon the Extracts from *Xenoph.*

- 59 fury, as the spoils of war which He and Cyrus had been long engaged in; from whence it became dispersed all over the East and also throughout *Greece*; where it was of great reputation; the Gold being exceeding pure with very little alloy in it. It weighed according to Dr *Bernard* 2 grains more than one of our *Guineas*, but, on account of its fineness, might be worth 25s. see Dr. *Prideaux Connest.* P. I. B. 2.
- 19 δὲ τότε ἔφει & ἔγει αὐτούς.] After that (after having conquered them in battle) he harassed and plundered them. so in Latin *Ferre et Agere.* H.
- 60 7 ὡς παιδικῇ] τῷτο πνὶς ἐπὶ αἰμαδῷ ἔρωτο, πνὶς δὲ ἐπὶ αἰχρῶδ λαμψάνουσιν. *Schol. ad Tbucyd.* L. I. — ἐπὶ θηλασῶν καὶ ἀφῆτων ἱερμῶν παύσεται ἡ λῆξις — ὡς δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἱερμῶν. *Phavorin.* Hæc autem dictio (v. *Budæum Comm.* L. G. p. 177.) ab amoribus puerorum ad honestam amorem et voluptatem inculpatam translata est: adeo ut alicujus tam res quælibet quàm homo dicatur παιδικῶ, quam quémve in deliciis habet. *Hutch.* see also *Potter Archæolog.* B. 4. Ch. 9.
- 8 πολυμήκης] i. e. ἱκανὸς πολυμῆξιν *Bello idoneus.* Adjectiva, quæ terminationem hanc sortita sunt, id plerumque denotant ad quod suscipiendum perficiendumque subjecta sunt idonea, apta, propensa. sic ἀρχῆς est ἀρχὴν ἱκανῆς. v. *Hutchinson ad l.*
- 13 ἀρχῆς — ὡς δυνατὸν, ἐκ τῷ τοῦτο ἔργου οἷον καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἔχον] fitted for Government and Command, extremely so, in consequence of his turn of mind and temper.
- 20 καὶ γνώμη ὅ ἐκείλιν.] tho' he was sometimes passionate and excessively severe in his punishments, yet he instilled them upon a settled determined principle —
- 61 22 Γοργίας] *Gorgias* of *Leontium*, in *Sicily*, was celebrated for his principles of Policy and for his address in applying the powers of Oratory. After having signalized himself at *Athens* by pleading the cause of the *Syracusans* and successfully imploring the aid of the *Athenians* (*Diodor. Sic.* B. 12.) he was much resorted to as a treasury of useful and polite learning, and at great premiums communicated his knowledge in Eloquence and Policy. His pay was sometimes no less than 100 Minæ or 10000 Drachms; (322 l. 18 s. 4 d.) *Isocrates* was one of his Scholars. See the character of his Oratory given by *Cicero.* *Orat.* n. 175. *Cicero* reports that after displaying his Oratory in the *Olympick* and *Pythian* Games he had a golden statue erected to his honour at *Delphos*.
- 24 μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνισταῖν] having qualified himself by real abilities and services to make an ample return to any Great men, who should admit him to their friendship.

- 62 3 τέτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν — αὖ —] But however earnestly desirous he was of these things — yet —
- 23 τίς γων δὲ φανερός &c.] He manifestly shewed himself to have no such thing as real affection for any person —
- 63 1 κατηγύλα] be despised — or treated with contempt —
- 4 μόνος ὄντο ἑδιναι —] unus omnium existimavit se scire — piqued himself upon his having a peculiar address and abilities to —
- 7 οἷοις καὶ ἀληθείαι ἀσκήσιν] men of conscience, acting under the awful reverence of a supreme Being, and steering their conduct by the maxims of Truth.
- 8 ἀγάσσεται] rejoices in.
- 11 μὴ πυνέριον] a man that had his scruples about carrying an affair thro' sitch, right or wrong —
- 15 ἔξει] he claimed, asserted his pretensions to a superior degree of Honour and Respect —
- 17 κατίλιον] he threw it in his teeth, he reproached him with this as a kindness actually conferred, that in employing him in his service, he had not contrived so as to destroy him.
- 12 ἔξει —] it may be, that false accounts have been given of some of the more secret parts of his life and conversation.
- 20 Αἰσάππῳ] Of this Aristippus some account is given *Αἰσά.* B. 1. He was a man of superior note, and aimed at Despotism in his district, but being opposed in his ambitious aims, in order to retain his superiority, he applied himself to Cyrus, who assisted him by a liberal donation, sufficient for raising an Army of 4000 men; which he intended, afterwards, should serve his own purposes.
- 20 διπράξατο] he procured (insinuating that he did it by some shameful compliances,) for himself a General's command, tho' he was but a stripling, *ωρεῖος* —
- 24 ἀποδύσκειν τῶν στρατῶν] When the Generals were put to death —
- 64 5 ὡς πονηρός as a Villain —
- 6 πελάτης τυχῶν] obtained his release from life —

NOTES

UPON

The Extracts from *Cicero*.

PHILIPPIC. IX.

THE whole set of Orations, which *Cicero* spoke against *M. Antonius* upbraiding him with his personal vices, and pernicious designs against the common Interests of his Country, have had this name given to them in allusion to these Orations, whereby *Demosthenes* endeavoured to animate the *Athenians* against *Philip of Macedon*, as having projected and well nigh executed the plan for conquering and enslaving *Greece*.

By way of Argument to the foregoing extracts it may be proper to premise thus much, that,

Soon after the death of *Julius Caesar*, *M. Antonius*, a soldier and favourite of his, found himself prompted both by his Ambition and Expensiveness to form a scheme of succeeding Him in his Sovereign Dominion, and in the oppression of his Country's Liberty: This he conducted with surprizing vigour and address.

D. Brutus, a man of large fortune, and one who, having been highly favoured by *Caesar*, was regarded with particular abhorrence by the enemies of liberty for the share he took in *Caesar's* Assassination, exerted himself to the utmost to defeat the schemes of *M. Antonius*. — He had been nominated by *J. Caesar* to the Government of *Gallia Cisalpine*: To this he retired soon after the death of *Caesar*, and declared hostilities against *M. Antonius* by forbidding him entrance into it. But finding himself unable to oppose *Antonius* in the field, he threw himself with all his forces into the strong Town of *Mutina*, which was thereupon besieged by *Antonius*. — An Embassy was appointed to carry to him the peremptory commands of the Senate to quit the siege of *Mutina*, and to desist from all hostilities: The persons nominated thereunto were *S. Sulpicius*, *L. Piso*, and *L. Philippus*. — *Ser. Sulpicius* was at that time in a very declining state of health, and died when they were just arrived at *Antonius's* camp. — Soon after, *Paisas*, one of the Consuls, called the Senate together to deliberate on some proper honours to be decreed to the memory of

of *S. Sulpicius*: He advised to pay him all the honours, which had ever been decreed to any, who had lost their lives in the service of their Country; a publick funeral; sepulchre, and statue: In this motion he was supported by *Cicero* (*Phil. 9.*) and in this resolution the Senate concurred.

D. Brutus, who continued near four months besieged in *Mutina*, was reduced to great straits, but defended it with the greatest resolution. *Hirtius*, one of the Consuls, had already marched to his relief at the head of a brave army, and particularly of the *Martial* and *Fourth* Legions, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole. *Octavius Caesar* had the year before been very active in soliciting his uncle *Jul. Caesar's* soldiers into his service, and had drawn together a firm and regular army of Veterans completely furnished with all the necessaries for present service. The command of which was afterwards assigned to him by authority of the Senate, upon condition that he should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of *D. Brutus* and his Accomplices. Accordingly he joined his forces to those of *Hirtius*; and not long after, the other Consul *Pansa* set out to join them with his new raised army, consisting of four Legions. But when he was advanced within a few miles of *Hirtius's* camp, *Antonius* privately drew out some of his best troops with design to surprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. Upon which a general action ensued, wherein *Antonius* lost the greatest part of his Veteran troops, two Eagles, and sixty standards; but however he regained his Camp, hoping to make himself master of *Mutina*, as the place was reduced to great extremity, and his works seemed strong enough to prevent any relief being thrown into it. But *Hirtius* and *Octavius* attacked him in his intrenchments and forced him to a general battle, wherein he was at length defeated and the place relieved.

Ser. Galba, one of the Conspirators against *Caesar*, gave *Cicero* a particular account of the first Action, *Ep. Fam. X. 30.* Other Letters also arrived severally from the two Consuls and *Octavius*, which raised an incredible joy at *Rome*; and the day following, the Senate being summoned by *Cornelius* the Prætor, to deliberate upon the Letters of the Consuls and *Octavius*, *Cicero* delivered his Opinion as it stands in the fourteenth Philippick; which was ratified by the Senate. See *Dr Middleton's Life of Cicero*.

65 6 lustru publico] It was usual with the *Romans* on any disastrous event, by which the common welfare was endangered, to testify their sense of it, and thereby to rouse one another up to compensate the mischief by extraordinary

65 nary efforts of Patriotism. This was a rational, and, probably, the original design of Publick Mourning.

18 cens[us] This was the legal term made use of by *Roman* Senators, when they had formed their Opinions into a Motion.

ib. Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemoniâ, Rufus.] *Moris* fuit, ut cum aliquis civis Romanus offendendus sit, significaretur aut a Prænomine suo, aut a Nomine, aut a Cognatione, aut a Tribu in quâ censeretur, (*adde et a Cognomine*) aut a Curia, aut a Censu. *Aſcon. in Cic.* We have this account here exemplified in the 5 first particulars. *Seruius* (Prænomen, quod singulorum proprium est) *Sulpicius* (Nomen gentilitium, multis Gentis et Familiæ causâ commune;) *Q. F.* (Quinti Patris Filius) *Lemoniâ* (Tribu Lemoniâ, in quâ censebatur. Tribûs autem nomen ablativo casu plerumque ponitur.) This was one of the Rustick Tribes so called from the Village of *Lemo* not far from the *Porta Capena*, in which *Sulpicius* probably possessed some estate. *Rufus* (Cognomen, quod plerumque ab actione aliquâ, vel a corpore, vel a moribus inditum est.) vid. *Pittisci. Lexic.*

20 Auctoritatem Senatûs] Auctoritas in genere est cum aliorum consiliis, jussis, voluntati libenter obedimus. Sometimes *Auctoritas Senatûs* stands contradistinguished from the *Senatûs consultum*: viz. when the Act was patronized indeed by a Majority of the Senators, but was hindered from passing into an Obligatory Act, either by the interposal of a Negative by a Tribune &c. or for want of a proper number to ratify the Act.

66 10 statuum pedestrem in Rostris] in that part of the Forum where the *Rostra* stood; which as being most frequented and most conspicuous was the most honourable spot of ground that could have been chosen.

12 circum eam statuum locum ludis gladiatoribusque] sc. *ludis gladiatoribusque spectandis*. Five feet-round the Statue in all directions might be sufficient for the purpose of Seeing fights, but very incompetent for exhibiting them. Excepting in the case of some peculiar privilege granted by the Senate, Places at publick Games were seized promiscuously without any regard to Rank and Station. — The practice of assigning to persons distinct places in the Theatres according to their Rank as Patricians Knights and Plebeians, was introduced A. U. C. 559. — The *Circus* was still left open to All.

19 locent) contract with some Artist or Undertaker.

20 redemptori] Redemptores sunt, qui cum quid publice faciendum aut præbendum conduxerant effecerantque, tum denique pecunias accipiebant. *Festus*.

66 24 *quam amplissimè*] with all the pomp and grandeur of ceremony that was made use of at the interment of most eminent persons. see Kennet. *Antiq.* P. 11. B. 5. and the Authors these referred to.

18. *supremo die sub*] In the case of indictive and publick Funerals the carrying forth of the Body to its Funeral was performed on the 8th day after the Person's death. *Serv.* in *Ænold.* v. 65.

28 *Ædiles Cures edictum*] These Ædiles chosen out of the Nobility (it is well known) had the inspection and regulation of publick Games and other matters of publick Ceremony.

67 6 *ut quod optimo jure &c.*] a quaint formality of Law-expression to give validity to the Grant.

12 *Supplicationes ex literis*] After obtaining any remarkable advantage in War, the General commonly gave the Senate an account of it by Letters wreathed about with Laurel, in which he desired the favour of a *Supplicatio* or solemn procession to the Temples of the Gods; this being granted for a set number of days, the Senate went in a solemn manner to the Temples; Sacrifices were offered, with publick Festivities. Kennet P. 2. B. 4.

17 *Imperatores appellem*] Though this Title was given, upon any remarkable success, to the General by the Acclamations of the Soldiers in the Camp, yet to ensure the Title a Decree of the Senate was necessary. *ib.*

21 *Hofes judicio*] as no longer deserving the name of Citizens, but Enemies to their Country. ——— The Roman Senate often by a Vote fixed this appellation as a stain of Ignominy on those who took up arms against their Country, deserted its Interests and service, or attempted to overturn the Constitution.

25 *alterum nomen beneficii &c.*] viz. that of Consul.

68 10 *legione Martia — Quarta — &c.*] Legions for distinction's sake were denominated either from the Order in which they were raised, First, Second &c. or from the Place where they were stationed, *Germanica*, *Britannica* &c. or from the Generals, as, *Agrippa*, *Claudia* &c. or from some particular Character, *Martia*, *Victoria*, *Ferrea*, *Fulminatrix* &c.

27 *qui Cæsaris beneficia servissent*] who had managed their domestick concerns so well as to have preserved the Largesses given them by Cæsar, and not squandered them away. It was usual with Generals in the Provinces to reward such of their Soldiers as deserved well, with Donations of Land &c. and to secure their title at their return to Rome, *refare eos in beneficiis ad ærarium* to register them in the publick Treasury.

74 Notes upon the Extracts from *Cicero*.

- fury: No one was more liberal in this particular than *Julius Caesar*. But those Soldiers, whose title was thus confirmed, were at liberty to part with their property.
- 69 ¹ *Hirtius ipse aquilam*] In cases of extraordinary difficulty it was not unusual for the General himself to take the Standard into his own hands and lead the Soldiers onward to the Enemy — nothing appearing so disgraceful to the *Roman* Soldiery as to suffer their Standard to be taken by the Enemy *see Caesar. de B. Gall. L. 4.*
- ⁴ *huic Jovi Maximo*] the Senate at this time was assembled in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.
- ¹⁴ *Ætas certe ejus &c.*] *Octavius* (afterwards *Augustus*) *Cæsar* was at the time here spoken of about 20 years old, having been born A. U. C. 690. This motion of *Cicero's* was made A. U. C. 710.
- ²⁹ *monumentum amplissimam*] *Monumentum* differt a *Sepulchro*, in quo corpus conditum est; *Monumentum* est quodcunque opus aut ædificium transmittendæ ad Posteris memoriæ causâ factum: cujusmodi hodie Romæ extat *C. Cestii Monumentum* e Marmore quadrato. v. *Pitisc. Lex.*
- 71 ¹³ *Mars in acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet*] sibi quasi suos assumere. Nam in acie fortissimi quique moriuntur. Manut.
- ¹⁴ *nunc vero sanctissimi*] By this solemn Act of the Senate they were, in a manner, Sainted and Deified. *Sancti* was one of the Attributes of the Gods.
- 72 ²⁹ *dispersis bustis crematos*] the *Puticuli* without the *Esquilian* gate were the place allotted for burying of the Bones and ashes of persons of the lowest rank, who had no private place of their own for burial.
- contectos*] the honour of being buried within the City was not granted to any (the Vestal virgins excepted) but by a publick Decree of the Senate.
- 73 ³ *Ara virtutis*] cui inscribetur elogium, eorum virtutem immortalitati consecrans. Solebant enim in locis, ubi victoria erat parata, locari Aræ, quibus inscribebantur res in illo loco gestæ, & illorum laus, quorum virtute res gestæ erant. *Græc.* This is a true account of the matter of fact. But *Cicero's* thought in the use of this expression is much more spirited. The virtues of these brave men had, he tells his hearers, in a manner deified them, and justified the erecting Altars to their honour.
- ¹³ *cum tempus venerit*] 'tis probable from the subsequent successes of *Antonius* that the time of putting these Decrees of the Senate in execution never came.

Notes upon the Extracts from *Cicero*. 75

- 73 ²³ *Legiones tironum*] Legions formed out of Recruits newly raised : — tho' these undoubtedly included likewise many Veterans, to instruct the novices in their military duty.
- ²⁴ *occisione occiderit*] thoroughly routed and destroyed.
- 74 ¹⁶ *Prætor urbanus*] The Consuls being at this time absent, the *Prætor urbanus*, or One of them was possessed of the Supreme Jurisdiction. Probably the *Prætor Primus* or He who was first Elected. At first there was but *One*, elected by the People voting in their Centuries ; Afterwards, as the Dominion and Affairs of *Rome* encreased, the number was gradually enlarged to *Eight* ; and by *Julius Cæsar* to *Sixteen*.
- 75 ⁵ *monumentum locandum*] see p. 66. 19.
- ib. *Quæstores urbis*] as having the charge of the Publick Treasury, and being intrusted with Receipts and Disbursement of Publick Monies.

To the Catalogue of Books proper to be consulted for Athenian and Roman Antiquities might be added, two Others, which are now antiquated, but in their times were not undeservedly well esteemed, and are still very useful for Classical Expressions relative to those subjects, viz. Seven Books of the Attick Antiquities by Fran. Rous and Zach. Bogan. 4to.

An Exposition of the Roman Antiquities by Tho. Godwin. 4to.

A Chronological Table.

<i>Year of the World.</i>		<i>Year before Christ.</i>
1656	N OA H is preserved in the Universal Deluge.	2348
1988	Abraham born.	2016
2107	The Destruction of Sodom.	1897
2244	From the first peopling of <i>Attica</i> 'till the time of <i>Ogyges</i> , we have no account of any thing that passed there. — And of his times we know little more than that <i>Attica</i> was wasted so much by a deluge as not to recover itself for near 200 years.	1760
2376	<i>Joseph</i> dies.	1634
2428	<i>Moses</i> born.	1576
2448	<i>Cecrops</i> an <i>Egyptian</i> , having married the daughter of <i>Athaus</i> King of <i>Attica</i> , built the City; which was afterwards the Citadel, calling it <i>Cecropia</i> . He introduced a Form and Ceremonial of Religion into the Country.	1556
	The number of Kings in <i>Attica</i> is reckoned to be 17; they reigned in all 487 years.	
2492	<i>Deucalion's</i> flood.	1512
	<i>Amphictyon</i> the son of <i>Deucalion</i> , having married the daughter of <i>Cranaus</i> King of <i>Attica</i> , deposed him and usurped his throne; and was 10 or 12 years after himself deposed by <i>Eriabonius</i> , a foreigner, who introduced the use of silver money.	
2508	<i>Israelites</i> depart out of <i>Egypt</i> .	1496
2547	<i>Moses</i> dies.	1457
2550	<i>Cadmus</i> fl.	1454
2568	<i>Pandion</i> son of <i>Eriabonius</i> , was the first king who held the throne in right of succession.	1436
2608	* <i>Erethbeus</i> succeeded <i>Pandion</i> . He had war with the <i>Eleusnians</i> , who were assisted by <i>Eumolpus</i> king of <i>Thrace</i> .	1396
2657	<i>Cecrops</i> II. gathered the people of <i>Attica</i> into twelve burroughs: to him succeeded	1347
2698	<i>Pandion</i> II. and to him	1306
2723	<i>Ægeus</i> .	1281
2772	<i>Carthage</i> built by a Colony of <i>Tyrians</i> .	1234

A Chronological Table.

77

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

2781	* <i>Theseus</i> new modelled the State, and brought the inhabitants of <i>Attica</i> into one City, which he named <i>Athens</i> . In his time happened the <i>Trojan</i> and the <i>Amazonian</i> war.	1223
2785		1219
2797		1207
2788	* <i>Hercules</i> dies.	1216
2801	* <i>Eurystheus</i> is slain.	1203
2881	The <i>Trojan</i> war ended.	1183
2816	<i>Jezebel</i> judges <i>Israel</i> .	1188
2823	<i>Aeneas</i> comes into <i>Italy</i> .	1181
2900	* The <i>Heracleidae</i> by means of the <i>Athenians</i> recover possession of <i>Peloponnesus</i> .	1104
2904	<i>Samuel</i> judges <i>Israel</i> .	1100
2934	* The <i>Heracleidae</i> invade <i>Attica</i> . <i>Cadmus</i> king of <i>Athens</i> throws away his life for the welfare of his country.	1070
2936	After which the supreme Magistrate in <i>Athens</i> was no longer called <i>King</i> , but <i>Archon</i> . <i>Medon</i> , the son of <i>Cadmus</i> was the first of this title. There were 13 of them in succession during 312 years.	1068
2944	<i>David</i> begins his reign.	1060
2960	* The <i>Athenians</i> sent out large Colonies on the maritime coasts of <i>Asia minor</i> .	1044
2988	<i>Solomon</i> begins building the Temple.	1016
3093	<i>Homer</i> dies.	911
3122	<i>Lycurgus</i> gives Laws to the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> .	882
3228	The vulgar Era of the <i>Olympiads</i> . (But N.B. this was really the 1st year of the 28th Olympiad, or 108 years after the restitution of the Olympian Games by <i>Iphitus</i> .)	776
3248	The <i>Athenians</i> reduce the administration of the <i>Archons</i> to a decennial office. — Of those, who bore it, there were seven. The first named <i>Clearchus</i> , in last <i>Eryxias</i> .	756
3252	Rome built.	752
3281	The Captivity of the ten tribes of <i>Israel</i> .	723
3318	The office of <i>Archon</i> is reduced to an annual office, executed by nine persons: one of them bearing the Title: The first who bore it was <i>Creon</i> .	686
3381	<i>Draco</i> prescribes his Laws, remarkable for their severity.	623
3396	The Captivity of <i>Judah</i> .	608
3411	* <i>Solon</i> undertakes to reform the State and the Laws of <i>Athens</i> .	593
3432	<i>Anacreon</i> flourishes.	572
3441	<i>Alexander</i> put to death at <i>Delfi</i> .	563

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

3444	<i>Pisistratus</i> takes advantage of the factions into which the state of <i>Athens</i> was divided, and seizes the Government; which he did not get quiet possession of 'till sixteen years afterwards; He held it 17 years by himself; as his sons did 18 more after him.	560
3456	* <i>Cyrus</i> brings all <i>Asia minor</i> under his Dominion, having been called out of <i>Persia</i> by his uncle <i>Cyaxares</i> king of <i>Media</i> to assist him against the <i>Babylonians</i> .	548
3460	* — subdues <i>Syria</i> , <i>Palestine</i> , and <i>Arabia</i> .	544
3462	* — marches into upper <i>Asia</i> , and reduces it.	542
3465	* — returns into <i>Assyria</i> , and takes <i>Babylon</i> : then placing his uncle <i>Cyaxares</i> (called in Scripture <i>Darius the Mede</i>) on the throne of <i>Babylon</i> , he makes an expedition into <i>Syria</i> .	539
3467	* <i>Cyaxares</i> dies; and <i>Cyrus</i> succeeds in the whole Empire; and releases the <i>Jews</i> from their Captivity; issues a Decree to rebuild the Temple.	537
3475	* <i>Cyrus</i> dies; and is succeeded by his son <i>Cambyzes</i> .	529
3478	* <i>Cambyzes</i> invades <i>Egypt</i> ; and conquers the whole Kingdom.	526
3480	* <i>Cambyzes</i> makes an expedition against the <i>Ethiopians</i> , and returns his loss.	524
3482	— dies. — The <i>Magians</i> seize the Kingdom. * <i>Hipparchus</i> , who succeeded his father <i>Pisistratus</i> in the Tyranny of <i>Athens</i> , is slain by <i>Harmodius</i> and <i>Aristogiton</i> : and is succeeded therein by his brother <i>Hippias</i> .	522
3483	* The <i>Magians</i> are slain; and <i>Darius</i> son of <i>Hystaspes</i> is chosen king of <i>Persia</i> .	521
3484	<i>Pindar</i> born.	520
3489	The second Temple finished.	515
3491	* <i>Darius</i> invades <i>Scythia</i> ; and loses half his army: but subdues <i>Thrace</i> .	513
3494	The <i>Scythians</i> ravage <i>Thrace</i> , and drive <i>Miltiades</i> out of the <i>Euboean</i> isles.	510
3495	* <i>Hippias</i> is driven from <i>Athens</i> .	509
3498	* <i>Darius</i> sends a fleet down the <i>Indus</i> to discover <i>India</i> ; which he afterwards invades and conquers.	506
3501	* The <i>Persians</i> under the command of <i>Aristagoras</i> of <i>Miletus</i> make a fruitless attempt upon <i>Naxos</i> .	503
3502	* The <i>Athenians</i> enter into a Confederacy with	502

A. Chronological Table.

79

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

	the <i>Ionians</i> against <i>Darius</i> ; and the next year equip a fleet of 20 sail in conjunction with 5 Gallies of <i>Eretria</i> ; and burn <i>Sardes</i> .	
3507	The <i>Persians</i> reduce the revolted in <i>Ionia</i> .	497
3509	They reduce the <i>Hellepont</i> and parts thereabout, and force <i>Miltiades</i> to flee from thence to <i>Athens</i> .	495
3510	* <i>Mardonius</i> is sent by <i>Darius</i> to make war against <i>Greece</i> , but miscarries in the expedition.	494
	<i>Sophocles</i> born.	
3511	* <i>Darius</i> continues his preparations against <i>Greece</i> ; and sends a large force under <i>Datis</i> and <i>Artaphernes</i> , who possess themselves of the <i>Cyclades</i> , and storm <i>Eretria</i> .	493
3513	* They invade <i>Attica</i> , but are defeated at <i>Marathon</i> .	491
	* <i>Miltiades</i> is sent to chastise the Islands, which sided with the <i>Persians</i> .	
3520	* <i>Darius</i> resolves to invade <i>Greece</i> in person; but dying leaves the prosecution of the war to his son and successor <i>Xerxes</i> .	484
3519	<i>Euripides</i> born.	485
3521	<i>Herodotus</i> the Historian born.	483
3524	* <i>Xerxes</i> passes in <i>Hellepont</i> , and marches into <i>Greece</i> : is opposed at <i>Thermopylae</i> ; but at length forces his passage, and wastes <i>Attica</i> with fire and sword. — His numerous fleet receives a defeat from the confederate fleet of <i>Greece</i> at <i>Salamis</i> under <i>Themistocles</i> : — as afterwards did his Land-army near <i>Plataea</i> . — In <i>Ionia</i> the <i>Persian</i> force are defeated by those of <i>Greece</i> , on the very same day on which the battle was fought at <i>Plataea</i> , near <i>Mycala</i> by land; and afterwards at <i>Egos-potamos</i> by sea.	480
3525		479
3526	* The <i>Athenians</i> reconvey their families from <i>Salamis</i> into <i>Attica</i> , and rebuild their walls, and fortify their harbour of <i>Piræus</i> .	478
3527	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Athenians</i> jointly pursue the war against the <i>Persians</i> .	477
	* The <i>Ionians</i> having revolted from the <i>Persians</i> put themselves under the protection of the <i>Athenians</i> .	
3534	* <i>Cimon</i> scours the <i>Asiatick</i> seas, and defeats the <i>Persian</i> fleet at the mouth of the river <i>Eury-medon</i> : and the same day landing his men routs their Land-army; and afterwards makes	470

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3535	many other conquests on the <i>Hellepont</i> . * The <i>Athenians</i> employ part of their fleet in the service of <i>Inarus</i> king of <i>Libya</i> , who had drawn <i>Egypt</i> to revolt against the king of <i>Persia</i> . — and proceed with success.	469
3538	<i>Themistocles</i> poisons himself.	466
3541	<i>Xerxes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .	463
3546	<i>Lyfias</i> born.	458
3547	(<i>Ezra</i> comes to <i>Jerusalem</i> .)	457
3547	* The <i>Athenians</i> have frequent skirmishes with the <i>Corinthians</i> and <i>Æginetans</i> ; under <i>Myronides</i> the intirely defeat the <i>Corinthians</i> . * They engage with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> near <i>Tanagra</i> , and are worsted: — but soon after return the blow at a place called the <i>Oenophyta</i> or <i>Vineyards</i> .	457
3548	* They likewise subdue <i>Ægina</i> , and render it tributary.	456
3549	* Under <i>Tolmides</i> they harass the coasts of <i>Laconia</i> and <i>Corinth</i> : but in <i>Egypt</i> their forces are distressed and vanquished.	455
3551	* <i>Cimon</i> , after a banishment of five years, is recalled home, and makes up a peace with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> .	453
3554	The <i>Decemviral</i> is Authority established at <i>Rome</i> , and abrogated within two years.	450
3555	* The <i>Athenians</i> send <i>Cimon</i> with a great fleet to <i>Cyprus</i> , where he engages the <i>Persian</i> forces both by sea and land with great success; and dies.	449
3556		448
3559	* The <i>Athenians</i> are insulted from various quarters; reinstated by <i>Pericles</i> .	445
3561	<i>Nehemiah</i> succeeds <i>Ezra</i> in the Government of <i>Jerusalem</i> .	443
3563	<i>Herodotus</i> publicly recites his history. <i>Euripides</i> fl.	441
3564	* The <i>Athenians</i> under the conduct of <i>Pericles</i> subdue the <i>Samiens</i> .	440
3566	* The <i>Corinthian</i> war.	438
3573	* The <i>Peloponnesian</i> war begins. — The <i>Peloponnesian</i> confederates invade <i>Attica</i> . — The <i>Athenians</i> exert themselves chiefly at sea against the coasts of <i>Peloponnesus</i> , with success. — and after the return of the <i>Peloponnesians</i> out of <i>Attica</i> invade <i>Megaris</i> . <i>Pericles</i> speaks his funeral Oration. — dies.	431
3576		428

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3577	* <i>Leibus</i> revolts from the <i>Athenians</i> — The	427
3578	<i>Athenians</i> recover it by besieging <i>Mitylene</i> ; seize their shipping, raze their walls and confiscate the estates of the revoltors.	426
	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make reprisals upon the inhabitants of <i>Plataea</i> .	
	* The <i>Athenians</i> engage on the side of the <i>Leontines</i> in their quarrel against <i>Syracuse</i> .	
3580	* They seize <i>Pylus</i> in <i>Laconia</i> , and distress the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> in the island <i>Sphæteria</i> .	424
	<i>Aristophanes</i> flourishes.	
3583	<i>Brasidas</i> gives a successful turn to the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> affairs. — They and the <i>Athenians</i> come to terms; but the rest of the <i>Peloponnesian</i> confederates being disgusted therewith, the quarrel is renewed.	421
3586		418
3590	* The <i>Athenians</i> , by the advice of <i>Alcibiades</i> , undertake an expedition against <i>Syracuse</i> .	414
3592	They are defeated and pursued with great slaughter.	412
	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> conclude a league with the king of <i>Persia</i> , which is followed by the revolt of the principal cities of <i>Ionis</i> from <i>Athens</i> .	
3593		411
	* Several places on the <i>Hælespont</i> likewise revolt; but are soon reduced to their obedience.	
3594	* The <i>Athenians</i> , in order to carry on their military affairs with more dispatch in those distressing times, consent to alter the Constitution of their Government, and place it in the hands of 400, who abuse their power in acts of tyranny and oppression. This is followed by various factions and tumults in the City, and by the revolt of <i>Eubœa</i> .	410
	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> take an advantage of these difficulties. But the <i>Athenians</i> recovering from their disorder and consternation, fit out a fleet under <i>Thrasylus</i> and <i>Thrasylbulus</i> , and defeat the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> in three several sea-engagements, at <i>Cynossema</i> , <i>Abydos</i> and <i>Cyzicus</i> .	
3596		408
3598	A fleet is sent out under <i>Alcibiades</i> ; which being defeated by <i>Lyfander</i> in his absence from it, he falls into disgrace.	406
	* <i>Conon</i> in commission with 9 others succeeds him in his command, and defeats <i>Callicratidas</i> the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> at <i>Arginusæ</i> .	
3599		405
3600	* <i>Lyfander</i> taking advantage of <i>Conon's</i> absence,	404

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	entirely defeats the <i>Athenian</i> fleet at <i>Egospotamus</i> ; and soon after marches to <i>Athens</i> , and besieges it, and reduces it to a surrender: demolishes their fortifications, establishes an <i>Oligarchical</i> government of 30 persons; commonly known by the name of the 30 Tyrants.	
3601	<i>Themistocles</i> exerts himself in opposition to the Tyrants; but is put to death.	403
3603	* <i>Themistocles</i> raises a party against them, and at length effects the restoration of the Democracy.	401
3604	* <i>Cyrus</i> (the younger) his Expedition against his Brother <i>Artaxerxes</i> : is killed.	400
3605	<i>Socrates</i> is put to death.	399
3607	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> quarrel with the <i>Eleans</i> for siding with the <i>Athenians</i> against them.	397
3609	* <i>Agésilas</i> makes a successful expedition into <i>Asia</i> against the <i>Persians</i> .	395
3610	* The <i>Persians</i> , in order to divert the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> from pursuing their conquests in <i>Asia</i> , spirit up a Confederacy of <i>Thebans</i> , <i>Argives</i> and <i>Corinthians</i> ; and, at length, the <i>Athenians</i> against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> . — The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> gain two Victories over the Confederates by land, one near <i>Sicyon</i> not far from <i>Corinth</i> ; and the other under <i>Agésilas</i> near <i>Coronea</i> in <i>Bœotia</i> . — But <i>Conon</i> at the head of the <i>Persian</i> fleet defeats them by sea near <i>Cnidus</i> .	394
3611	* Some of the <i>Corinthians</i> inclining to peace with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , civil dissensions insue, with mutinies and massacres. — <i>Agésilas</i> and <i>Teutias</i> for a time carry all before them on the side of the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> ; but <i>Iphicrates</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> General, defeating the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> forces at <i>Lebæus</i> , recovers the ground that had been lost.	393
3612	* At this time the Cities of <i>Asia</i> , under the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> jurisdiction, expell the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> Governours.	392
3613	<i>Pharnabazus</i> and <i>Conon</i> make a descent on the coasts of <i>Laconia</i> and ravage them. — <i>Conon</i> afterwards sails to <i>Athens</i> , repairs the Haven of <i>Piræus</i> , and rebuilds the walls.	391
3614	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> finding the war at their own doors, and the <i>Athenians</i> likely to reap the advantage of it, send <i>Antalcidas</i> to treat with the	390

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	<i>Perſians</i> about a Peace; offering to give up the <i>Grecian</i> Cities in <i>Aſia</i> . — The <i>Athenians</i> and their Allies taking the Alarm endeavour to counteract their deſigns: The <i>Perſians</i> play them one againſt the other.	
	The baniſhment of <i>Camillus</i> from <i>Rome</i> .	
3615	<i>Thraſybulus</i> is killed in his expedition to <i>Rhodes</i> ; after having reduced ſeveral places in the <i>Hel-leſpont</i> &c. for the ſecurity whereof <i>Iphicrates</i> is ſent out by the <i>Athenians</i> with a conſiderable force.	389
	<i>Rome</i> burnt by the <i>Gauls</i> .	
3616	<i>Chabrias</i> ſubdues the <i>Æginetans</i> : and is ſent to the aſſiſtance of <i>Evagoras</i> K. of <i>Cyprus</i> . — The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make their advantage of his abſence; and ſurpriſe and ſink ſeveral of the <i>Athenian</i> ſhips in their harbour.	388
3618	* By this time the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Athenians</i> were ſo far tired with haraſſing each other, that they acquieſced in a peace upon the following terms, that “All the cities of <i>Aſia</i> with the “iſlands of <i>Clazomenæ</i> ſhould be under the ju- “riſdiction of <i>Perſia</i> : That the iſlands of <i>Lem-nus</i> , <i>Imbrus</i> and <i>Scirus</i> , as having time imme- “morial been ſubject to <i>Athens</i> , ſhould continue “ſo; and that all other Cities of <i>Greece</i> ſhould “be free.”	386
	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , under the notion of Guarantees of the Peace, behave insolently towards ſeveral States who had taken part againſt them in the late wars.	
3621	(<i>Ariſtotle</i> born.)	383
3623	They ſeize the Citadel of <i>Thebes</i> , which they held four years, and with it the Dominion over <i>Bæotia</i> ; but were then diſpoſſeſſed by the bravery of <i>Pelopidas</i> .	381
3624	(<i>Demofthenes</i> born.)	380
	The <i>Athenians</i> are exaſperated againſt the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> for their having laid a deſign to ſurpriſe the <i>Piræus</i> ; they enter into a confederacy with the <i>Thebans</i> , and ſend <i>Chabrias</i> to tra-verſe the deſigns of <i>Ageſilaus</i> in <i>Bæotia</i> , in which he ſucceeds by keeping upon the deſenſive: — and afterwards defeats the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> by ſea: as did the next year	372
3633	<i>Timotheus</i> the ſon of <i>Canon</i> .	371

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	The <i>Thebans</i> take advantage thereof, and drive the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> out of <i>Boeotia</i> ; and joining with the <i>Athenians</i> restore several cities of <i>Greece</i> , particularly in <i>Peloponnesus</i> , to their independency.	
	The <i>Athenians</i> grow jealous of the <i>Theban</i> power, and propose a general accommodation. But disputes arising, the <i>Thebans</i> are excluded; and the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> left at liberty to turn their whole force upon them.	
3634	An engagement insues near <i>Leuctra</i> , in which the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> are routed by the conduct of the <i>Theban</i> General <i>Epaminondas</i> .	370
3637	The <i>Thebans</i> , upon the credit of this victory, draw several other lesser States into their alliance, and carry their arms into <i>Peloponnesus</i> against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> .	367
3636	The <i>Athenians</i> oppose a second attempt of <i>Epaminondas</i> to enter <i>Peloponnesus</i> : He forces the pass of the <i>Isthmus</i> ; but is soon after driven back by <i>Chabrias</i> the <i>Athenian</i> General.	368
3642	The <i>Thebans</i> are again called into <i>Peloponnesus</i> , by a party of the <i>Arcadians</i> . — The <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Lacedæmonians</i> oppose them with their united forces, but lose the victory in a general engagement near <i>Mantineæ</i> .	362
	<i>Epaminondas</i> the <i>Theban</i> General is slain, and with him sinks the <i>Theban</i> power and greatness.	
	A general peace throughout <i>Greece</i> .	
3643	<i>Agésilas</i> K. of <i>Lacedæmon</i> dies.	361
3645	<i>Xenophon</i> dies. — <i>Philip</i> is declared K. of	359
3646	<i>Macedon</i> . — defeats the <i>Athenians</i> at <i>Metbone</i> , and seizes <i>Amphipolis</i> , <i>Pydna</i> and <i>Potidaea</i> .	358
3647	The <i>Athenians</i> reduce <i>Eubœa</i> . — <i>Chabrias</i> is killed.	357
3648	The <i>Phœtian</i> or <i>Sacred</i> war breaks out.	356
3649	<i>Alexander</i> the Great is born.	355
3650	<i>Demosthenes</i> begins to signalize his Talents of Oratory.	354
3657	<i>Plato</i> dies.	347
3659	The <i>Phœcian</i> war ended by <i>Philip's</i> interposition.	345
3662	<i>Aristotle</i> comes to the court of <i>Philip</i> and is made <i>Præceptor</i> to his son <i>Alexander</i> .	342
3667	<i>Isocrates</i> dies.	337
	<i>Philip</i> defeats the <i>Athenians</i> at <i>Chæronea</i>	

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3669	<i>Philip is killed.</i>	335
3681	<i>Alexander dies.</i>	323
3686	<i>Demosthenes dies.</i>	318
3725	<i>Pyrrhus victorious over the Romans.</i>	279
3744	<i>The Romans build a fleet of Ships, and the next year obtain a victory at sea over the Carthaginians.</i>	260
3786	<i>Hannibal passes over the Alpes into Italy.</i>	216
3802	<i>Scipio vanquishes him in Africa.</i>	202
3814	<i>Antiochus conquered by M. Æmilius.</i>	190
3822	<i>Hannibal poisons himself.</i>	182
3829	<i>(History of the Maccabees begins.)</i>	175
3836	<i>Perseus K. of Macedonia subdued.</i>	168
3858	<i>Carthage destroyed by Scipio Æmilianus.</i>	146
3871	<i>Attalus leaves his Dominions by Will to the Romans.</i>	133
3883	<i>Polybius the Historian dies.</i>	121
3897	<i>M. T. Cicero born.</i>	107
3901	<i>Marius triumphs over Jugurtha.</i>	103
3905	<i>C. J. Cæsar born.</i>	99
3916	<i>L. Sylla distinguishes his military talents.</i>	88
3918	<i>M. Cicero pursues his Oratorical studies under Molon.</i>	86
3919	<i>L. Sylla brings Mithridates to terms.</i>	85
3923	<i>C. Julius Cæsar distinguishes his military Genius in Asia.</i>	81
3927	<i>M. Cicero after spending some time at Athens goes into Asia to improve himself in Oratory.</i>	77
3928	<i>Julius Cæsar goes to Rhodus for the same purpose.</i>	76
3933	<i>L. Lucullus sent against Mithridates and conquers him.</i>	71
3935	<i>—— subdues Tigranes.</i>	69
3938	<i>Cn. Pompeius sent to succeed Lucullus.</i>	66
3941	<i>Cicero frustrates the traitorous Conspiracy of Cataline.</i>	63
3946	<i>—— is banished by the Clodian Faction but recalled.</i>	58
3956	<i>J. Cæsar gains a compleat victory over Pompey at Pharsalia.</i>	48
3960	<i>—— is killed Id. i. c. 15 Mar.</i>	44
3961	<i>M. Cicero speaks his fifth and other Philippicks, and is soon after assassinated by Order of the Triumviri, Octavius, Antonius and Lepidus.</i>	43
	<i>7 Id. i. c. 7 Dec. Aged 64.</i>	

F I N I S.

T H E
ORATION of *PERICLES*

Taken from the

TRANSLATION of THUCYDIDES,

By Dr. *S M I T H*, Dean of *Chester*.

T H E
ORATION of *PLATO*

Translated by the late

***GILBERT WEST*, LL. D.**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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A R G U M E N T
F R O M
T H U C Y D I D E S,
B O O K I I.

*I*T was the established custom of the Athenians every winter, in war-time, to solemnize a public funeral for those who had fallen in battle, in the manner as follows.—

The bones of the slain were brought to a tabernacle erected for the purpose three days before, and all were at liberty to deck out the remains of their friends at their own discretion. But, when the grand procession was made, ten cypress-coffins were drawn on carriages, one for every tribe, in each of which were separately contained the bones of all that belonged to that tribe. One sumptuous bier was carried along empty for those that were missing, whose bodies could not be found amongst the slain. All who were willing, both citizens and strangers, attended the solemnity; and the women, who were related to the deceased, took their station

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near

near the sepulchre groaning and lamenting. They deposited the remains in the public sepulchre, which stood in the finest suburb of the city;—for it had been the constant custom there to bury all who fell in war, except those at Marathon, whose extraordinary valour the Athenians judged proper to honour with a sepulchre on the field of battle. As soon as they were interred, some one selected for the office by the public voice, and ever a person in great esteem for his high understanding, and of high dignity amongst them, pronounced over them the decent panegyric—and this done, they departed.

T H E

THE
FUNERAL ORATION
OF
PERICLES.

MANY of those, who have spoken before me on these occasions, have commended the author of the law, which we are now obeying, for having instituted an oration to the honour of those who sacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it sufficient for men, who have approved their virtue in action, by action to be honoured for it—by such as you see the public gratitude now performing about this funeral, and—that the virtues of Many ought not to be endangered by the management of any One person, when their credit must precariously depend on his oration, which may be good, or may be bad. Difficult indeed it is judiciously to handle a subject, where even probable truth will hardly gain assent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce every thing unfavourably expressed, in respect to what he wishes and what he knows;—whilst the

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stranger pronounceth all exaggerated, through envy of those deeds, which he is conscious are above his own atchievement. For the praises bestowed on others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do those feats, they hear to have been done: they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it false. Yet, as this solemnity hath received its sanction from the authority of our ancestors, it is my duty also to obey the law, and to endeavour to procure, so far as I am able, the good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I SHALL therefore first begin with our forefathers, since both justice and decency require we should on this occasion bestow on them an honourable remembrance. In this our country they kept themselves always firmly settled, and through their valour handed it down free to every since succeeding generation. Worthy indeed of praise are They, and yet more worthy are our immediate Fathers; since, enlarging their own inheritance into the extensive empire which we now possess, they bequeathed *that* their work of toil to us, their Sons. Yet even these successes we ourselves here present, we who are yet in the strength and vigor of our days, have nobly improved, and have made such provisions for this our Athens, that now it is all-sufficient in itself to answer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite those martial exploits by which these ends were accomplished,

plished, or the resolute defences we ourselves and our fathers have made against the formidable invasions of Barbarians and Greeks—your own knowledge of these will excuse the long detail. But—by what methods we have rose to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I shall first endeavour to shew; and then proceed to the praise of the deceased. These, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occasion: the discussion of them must be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of Strangers.

We are happy in a form of Government, which cannot envy the laws of our neighbours:—for it hath served as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the *Few*, but to the whole body of the people, is called a *Democracy*. How different soever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the same general Equality our laws are fitted to preserve,—and superior Honours, just as we excell. The public Administration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not an hindrance; since whoever is able to serve his country meets with no obstacle to preferment from his first obscurity. The Offices of the *State* we go through without obstructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without suspicions; not
angry

angry with a neighbour for following the bent of his own humour, nor putting on that countenance of discontent, which pains, tho' it cannot punish:—so that in private life we converse together without diffidence or damage, whilst we dare not on any account offend against the Public, through the reverence we bear to the Magistrates and the Laws, chiefly to those *enacted* for redress of the injured, and to those that are *unwritten*, a breach of which is allowed disgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind most frequent intermissions of care, by the appointment of public recreations and sacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens causeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth, than of those of other nations.

IN the affairs of War we excell those of our enemies, who adhere to methods opposite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general resort, nor ever drive any stranger from us, whom either improvement or curiosity hath brought amongst us, lest any enemy should hurt us by seeing what is never concealed. We place not so great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war, as in the native warmth of our souls impelling us to action.

action. In point of Education, the youth of some people are inured by a course of laborious exercise to support toil and hardship like men; but we, notwithstanding our easy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, since the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united strength of all their confederates. But, when we invade the dominions of our neighbours, for the most part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country those who fight in defence of their own habitations. The strength of our whole force no enemy yet hath ever experienced; because it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our service by land. But, if any-where they engage and defeat a small party of our forces, they boastingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly over-powered by our united strength. What though, from a state of inactivity rather than laborious exercise, or with a natural rather than an acquired valour, we learn to encounter danger?—this good at least we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehension of possible misfortunes, and, when we hazard the danger, are found no less courageous than those who are continually inured to it. In these respects our whole community deserves justly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.



but by conferring obligations. For he, who does a kindness, hath the advantage over him, who by the law of gratitude becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The person obliged is compelled to act the more insipid part, conscious that a return of kindness is merely a payment, not an obligation. And we alone are splendidly beneficent to others, not so much from interested motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I shall sum up what yet remains, by only adding—that our Athens in general is the school of Greece; and that every single Athenian amongst us is excellently formed, by his personal qualifications, for all the various scenes of active life, acting with a most graceful demeanor, and a most ready habit of dispatch.

THAT I have not on this occasion made use of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height, to which by such a conduct this *State* hath rose, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report;—the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the blush of indignation, and to their tributaries yields no discontent, as if subject to men unworthy to command. That we deserve our power, we need no evidence to manifest. We have great and signal proofs of this, which intitle us to the admiration of the present and future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praise; no poet to deck off a
B history

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history with the charms of verse, where the opinion of exploits must suffer by a strict relation. Every sea hath been opened by our fleets, and every land hath been penetrated by our armies, which have every-where left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendship.

In the just defence of such a *State*, these victims of their own valour, scorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought and bravely died. And every one of those who survive is ready, I am persuaded, to sacrifice life in such a cause. And for this reason I enlarged so much on national points, to give the clearest proof, that in the present war we have more at stake, than men whose public advantages are not so valuable; and to illustrate by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them, who are now my subject, and the greatest part of which they have now received. For the encomiums, with which I have celebrated the *State*, have been earned for it by the bravery of *these*, and of men like *these*. And such compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated, if passed on any Grecians, but *these* alone. The fatal period, to which these gallant souls are now reduced, is the surest evidence of their merit—an evidence begun in their lives, and completed in their deaths. For it is a debt of justice to pay superior honours to men, who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, tho' inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour. Their
last

last service effaceth all former demerits;—it extends to the public: their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet not one of these was induced to shrink from danger, through fondness of those delights which the peaceful affluent life bestows:—not one was the less lavish of his life, through the flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One passion there was in their minds much stronger than these—the desire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the most honourable prize of dangers, they boldly rushed towards the mark, to glut revenge, and then to satisfy those secondary passions. The uncertain event they had already secured in hope; what their eyes shewed plainly must be done, they trusted to their own valour to accomplish, thinking it more glorious to defend themselves and die in the attempt, than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice indeed they fled, but presented their bodies to the shock of battle; when, insensible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they instantly dropt—and thus discharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for You, who now survive them—it is your business to pray for a better fate—but to think it your duty also to preserve the same spirit and warmth of courage against your enemies, not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man, indulging a flow of

words, may tell you, what you yourselves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly against your enemies—but rather making the daily-increasing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and growing quite enamoured of it. And, when it really appears great to your apprehensions, think again, that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were sensible of shame; who, whenever their attempts were unsuccessful, thought it dishonour their country should stand in need of any thing their valour could do for it, and so made it the most glorious *present*. Bestowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praise that will never decay, a sepulchre that will always be most illustrious—not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is preserved, to be on every occasion, when honour is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. This whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men; nor is it the inscription on the columns in their native soil alone that shews their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inscriptions, in every foreign nation, repositied more durably in universal remembrance, than on their own tomb. From this very moment, emulating these noble patterns, placing your happiness in liberty, and liberty in valour, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For, to be lavish of life is not so noble in those
whom

whom misfortunes have reduced to misery and despair, as in men who hazard the loss of a comfortable subsistence, and the enjoyment of all the blessings this world affords, by an unsuccessful enterprize. Adversity, after a series of ease and affluence, sinks deeper into the heart of a man of spirit, than the stroke of death insensibly received in the vigor of life and public hope.

FOR this reason, the *Parents* of those who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail,—I shall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and that happiness belongs to men who have reached the most glorious period of life, as these now have, who are to you the source of sorrow,—these whose life hath received its ample measure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its conclusion. I know it in truth a difficult task to fix comfort in those breasts, which will have frequent remembrances, in seeing the happiness of others, in what they once themselves enjoyed. And sorrow flows not from the absence of those good things which we have never yet experienced, but from the loss of those to which we have been accustomed. They who are not yet by age exempted from issue, should be comforted by the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to some, in causing them to forget such as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country,

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country, in preventing its desolation, and providing for its security. For those persons cannot in common justice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expose to danger for its safety.—But You, whose age is already far advanced, compute the greater share of happiness your longer time hath afforded for so much gain, persuaded in yourselves, the remainder will be but short, and enlighten that space by the glory gained by *These*. It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honour.—

To You, the *Sons* and *Brothers* of the deceased, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him, who no longer is, every one is ready to commend; so that, to whatever height you push your deserts, you will scarce ever be thought to equal, but to be somewhat inferior to these. Envy will exert itself against a competitor, whilst life remains; but when death stops the competition, affection will applaud without restraint.

If after this it be expected for me to say any thing to *You*, who are now reduced to a state of Widowhood, about female virtue, I shall express it all in one short admonition:—It is your greatest glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your sex, and to give the Men as little handle as possible

OF PERICLES.

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possible to talk of your behaviour, whether *well* or *ill*.

I HAVE now discharged the province allotted me by the laws, and said what I thought most pertinent to this assembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honoured. Their children, from this day till they arrive at manhood, shall be educated at the public expence of the *State*, which hath appointed so beneficial a meed for these and all future relicts of the public contests. For, wherever the greatest rewards are proposed for virtue, there the best patriots are ever to be found.—Now, let every one respectively indulge the decent grief for his departed friends, and then retire.

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THE
FUNERAL ORATION
OF
PLATO.

WHATEVER was requisite to be *done* for these brave men, hath been performed on our part; They have received their *Dues*, and are now proceeding on their *fated Journey*, dismissed with these public Honours paid to them as well by the whole State, as by their own Families and Friends. But to make these honours complete, something remains to be *said*, which not only the Laws require to be rendered unto them, but Reason also. For an eloquent and well-spoken Oration impresses on the minds of the audience a lasting admiration of great and virtuous actions. But the present occasion demands an Oration of a particular kind; an Oration that may at one and the same time do justice to the Dead; animate and soothe the Living; excite the Children and Brethren of the Deceased to an imitation of their virtues; and administer comfort to the Fathers and the Mothers, and whoever of their remoter Ancestors are yet alive. And where shall

we

FUN. ORAT. OF PLATO. 17

we find an Orator equal to such a task? Or with what Topic shall we begin the praises of those brave men, who when living made their friends happy by their virtues; and with their deaths purchased the safety of all who now survive?

As they were in some measure indebted to nature for their virtue, it is in my opinion necessary to begin their Panegyric with an account of their original: for that they were virtuous was owing to their being sprung of virtuous Ancestors. Let us then celebrate, in the first place, their noble Birth; and in the second, their Nature and Education; and afterwards, by exhibiting their Actions to view, make it appear that *these* also were virtuous, and such as corresponded to all those advantages.

FIRST then, as to the nobility of their descent: They are sprung from a race of Ancestors, not adventitious, not transplanted from I know not where, but *natives of the soil*, dwelling and living really and properly in their own country; nursed, not like other nations by a step-mother, but a parent, the very land which they inhabited; in which they now lie buried; the soil which bred, which nursed them, and which, as her own, has again received them into her bosom. It is highly reasonable therefore to bestow some encomiums on this Mother; and the rather, because the nobility of these her Children will at the same time, and in

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the same proportion, be illustrated and adorned. This Country indeed deserves to be celebrated by all mankind, not only by us her Children, and that upon many accounts, but principally because she is a favourite of Heaven, of which the rivalry of the Gods, who contended for her, and the decision that followed thereupon, is a clear evidence. And how can any mortal reasonably pretend to refuse praise to that country, which the Gods have vouchsafed to honour? Another topic of Panegyric is this, that at the very time when the earth bred and produced animals of all kinds, both wild and tame, This Country of ours preserved her purity; refused to bring forth savage beasts; and among all animals chose to produce Man only, who surpasses the rest in understanding, and who alone hath instituted Laws for the observation of Justice, and the worship of the Gods. To what I here advance, that this earth is the genuine parent of our Forefathers, I must observe, that every thing that brings forth is provided with nourishment for what it has produced; and that a Woman is proved to be really and in fact a mother from her being supplied with native fountains of nourishment for the sustenance of the child. The like substantial evidence of her having brought forth Man hath this our Country and Mother; for she alone at the same time, and she *first* produced the useful grain of wheat and barley, the proper and the best food of man: so that it is evident she was the parent of this species of Animals; and to her
these

these proofs hold more strongly than to a Woman. For this great Mother did not most certainly, in breeding and producing, copy after her Daughters, but they after her: neither did she grudge the world these her fruits, but generously dispensed them to other nations. For her children she in the next place brought forth the olive, the support of toil; and after she had thus nourished and reared them up to manhood, she brought them Deities for their Governors and Instructors, whose names it is unnecessary to mention in this place.

WE all know who furnished us with the necessities and securities of life; who instructed us in the arts requisite for our daily support; who gave us, and who taught us the use of arms for the defence of our Country. Our Ancestors, thus born and thus brought up, framed a Government, of which it may not be improper to speak a few words. For Government is the nurse of men; a good one, of virtuous men; a bad one, of wicked men. That those who went before us were educated under a good government, is necessary to shew; for indeed it was owing to the advantage of being bred under a good government, that both they and their descendants, the fathers of the deceased, became virtuous. The form of Government then was, as it now is, an *Aristocracy*: Under this form of Government we still live, and for the most part have done so from that time to this. Let others call it a *Democracy*, or by what name they

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they please: It is in truth an *Aristocracy* founded on the good-will of the People. We have always had Magistrates invested with kingly power, some of whom were hereditary, others elective: but the People were generally the most powerful, and they always bestowed the authority and power of the state upon those whom they judged the most worthy. No man was excluded for the meanness, the obscurity, or the poverty of his family; nor advanced for the contrary qualifications of his Ancestors, as is practised in other states. Their choice was limited to one point. Whoever was esteemed to be wise and good, he had the authority, and he the power. The cause of this equal government among us was the equality of our original. For other states are composed of men of every country, and of different extractions; whence their governments are unequal; *Tyrannies* or *Oligarchies*, in which one part of the people look upon the other as Slaves, and They upon them as Masters. But we, who are all Brethren, born of one and the same parent, disdain to be the Slaves or the Lords of one another. On the contrary, the natural equality of our births compelled us to seek after a legal equality in our government, and forbad us to yield any subjection among ourselves, excepting only to the Wise and Virtuous. Hence it came to pass, that all our ancestors, the fathers of the deceased, and they themselves, being thus nobly born, thus nursed up in liberty, exhibited in all their conduct, as well private as public, a
number

number of great and glorious Actions for the service of mankind; thinking it their duty as well to protect *Grecians* against *Grecians*, as to maintain the general liberty of Greece against all foreign invaders. How they repelled the invasions of *Eumolpus*, of the *Amazons*, and of other enemies before them, and in what manner they defended the *Argives* against the *Thebans*, and the *Heracides* against the *Argives*, the time will not permit me fully to relate: besides, their virtues having been finely celebrated by the poets in their melodious songs, the world hath been already acquainted with them; so that we should but disgrace ourselves in attempting the same subjects in simple prose. For these reasons therefore I think proper to pass over these matters. Justice hath been done to their merits. But I think myself obliged to recall the memory of those exploits, which, worthy as they were, the poets have not thought worthy of their notice, and which are now almost buried in oblivion; that, by setting forth the praises of the great men who performed them, I may woo the poets to admit them into their songs and verses. The chief of these are the actions of our forefathers, the children of this soil, who held the hands of those Lords of *Asia*, the *Persians*, when they attempted to enslave *Europe*; whose virtues therefore in the first place deserve to be commemorated, and to be praised. To give their merit its proper lustre, we ought to take a view of it in that period of time, when all *Asia* was in subjection
to

to the third king of the *Persian* race. The first of these was *Cyrus*, who by his own great abilities freed his countrymen the *Persians*, enslaved the *Medes* his Masters, and brought under his dominion the rest of *Asia* as far as *Egypt*. His son subdued *Egypt*, and as much of *Libya* as was accessible, by his arms. *Darius*, the third king, extended the limits of his empire by his land-forces as far as *Scythia*, and by his fleets made himself master of the sea, and of the islands, insomuch that no one durst stand up in opposition to him. The very opinions of mankind seem to have been subdued; so many, so powerful, and so warlike were the nations which were bowed to the Persian yoke. This *Darius*, accusing us and the Eretrians of an attempt upon *Sardis*, made that a pretence for sending an army of 500000 men on board his ships and transports, and a fleet of 300 sail; over which he appointed *Datis* to be general, ordering him, under the forfeiture of his head, to bring back the Eretrians and Athenians captive. *Datis* sailing to Eretria, against a nation, which of all the Greeks had at that time the greatest reputation for valour, and was moreover very numerous, subdued them in three days; and that none of them might escape, he took this method of searching the whole Island. Causing his troops to march to the utmost limits of the Eretrians, and extend themselves from sea to sea, he ordered them to join their hands, and sweep the country, that he might be able to assure the king, that not a man
had

had escaped him. With the like design he passed from Eretria to Marathon, imagining he had nothing to do but to clap the same inevitable yoke upon the neck of the Athenians, and carry them off, as he had done the Eretrians. During these transactions, part of which were accomplished, and part yet in execution, no nation of the Greeks offered to stir to the assistance either of the Eretrians or the Athenians, except the Lacedæmonians, and they did not join us till the day after the battle. The rest, struck with terror, and preferring their present safety, kept quiet at home. By this one may form a judgment of the bravery of those men, who received the attack of the Barbarians at Marathon, chastised the arrogance of Asia, and were the first who erected trophies for their victory over a barbarous enemy; by their example instructing others, that the power of Persia was not invincible, and that wealth and numbers must yield to virtue. I call those men, therefore, not our *natural*, but our *civil* Fathers also, the fathers of our liberty, and of the liberty of all Europe. For the Grecians, surveying this day's work, were taught by their Marathonian masters to hazard new battles in the defence of their country. Upon these, therefore, ought we in reason to bestow the first Palm, and give the second to them, who afterwards fought and conquered in the sea-fights of Salamis and Artemisium. He who would go over the several actions of these brave men, enumerate the many difficulties they had to struggle with,
both

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both by Sea and Land, and tell how they surmounted them, would have much to say. But I shall only mention what appears to me to be the greatest exploit after that of Marathon. For by that victory the Greeks had been only taught, that upon land it was possible for a small number of Grecians to overcome a multitude of Barbarians; but that at sea they were able to effect the same thing, was not yet evident. The Persians had the reputation of being invincible at sea, by the superiority of their numbers, their riches, their naval skill, and strength. Now what is most praiseworthy in those brave men, who signalized themselves at sea, is, that they did thereby, as it were, loosen those bands of terror, which had held the Grecians so fast bound, and caused them no longer to stand in awe of numbers, whether of ships or men. From these two actions, this of Salamis and that of Marathon, all Greece was instructed and accustomed not to be afraid of the Barbarians, either by land or sea. The third great exploit for the deliverance of Greece, as well in order as in degree, is the action of Plataea; in the glory of which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an equal part. This great, this arduous enterprize was achieved, I say, by these two nations, and for this their merit they are now celebrated by us, and will be by our posterity to the latest times. After this many states of Greece still sided with the Barbarian, and the King himself was reported to have a design of invading Greece once more.

It would then be highly unjust not to take notice of those also, who completed the work of their forefathers, and put the finishing hand to our deliverance, by scouring the seas of every thing that had the name of Barbarian, and driving them within their own limits. These were they, who were engaged in the naval fight at Eurymedon, in the expeditions to Cyprus, to Ægypt, and many other places. These ought we, therefore, to commemorate, and to acknowledge our obligations to them, for having taught the great king to fear, to attend to his own safety, and not to be plotting the overthrow of Greece. This war against the Barbarians did our commonwealth, with her own forces only, draw out to the very dregs, for her own security, and that of her Allies.

Peace being made, and Athens being now in her highest glory, there fell upon her, what is most commonly the lot of the successful, first a rivalry in some other states of Greece, and from thence jealousy, which drew her, tho' unwilling, into a war against Grecians: upon the breaking out of which war, the Athenians fought a battle with the Lacedæmonians at Tanagra for the liberties of Bœotia. Tho' the issue of this battle was doubtful, yet the following Action proved decisive: for some of the Allies of the Bœotians having deserted those to whose assistance they came, our Countrymen having on the third day after obtained a victory, we recovered to a sense of their duty those who without reason had fallen off from it. These brave men

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having

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having fought against Grecians for the liberty of Grecians, and delivered those whose cause they had undertaken to defend, were the first after the Persian war, upon whom the Commonwealth conferred the honour of being buried in this public Coemetry. After this the war became more general; all Greece fell upon us at once, and ravaged our country, ill requiting the favours they had received from this City. But the Athenians having defeated their enemies in a sea-fight, and taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria their leaders the Lacedæmonians, when it was in their power to have put them to death, spared their lives, forgave them, and made peace with them; thinking, that altho' in a war against Barbarians nothing less than their utter ruin should be aimed at, yet that in a war between Grecians and Grecians the contest should be carried on as far as victory indeed, but that the common interest of Greece ought not to be sacrificed to any particular resentment. Are not these brave men, therefore, worthy to be praised, who were engaged in that war, and who now lie buried here? They, who made it appear, if indeed it was a question, whether in the first Persian war another nation was not at least equal to the Athenians: they, I say, who made it appear that such a question was intirely groundless. These men made the superiority of the Athenians sufficiently evident, by their coming off victorious in that war, in which all Greece took part against them, and worsting in battle, with the forces of
Athens

Athens only, those who had set themselves up for the Chiefs of Greece, tho' they could pretend to no more than an equal share with the Athenians in their victories gained over the Barbarians. After the peace arose another horrible and unexpected war, in which many brave men fell, who here lie buried. Some of these erected many trophies in Sicily; to which country they had sailed in order to protect the Leontines in their liberties, whom we were bound to assist by solemn treaties. But before they could arrive, the passage being long, the Leontines were reduced to extremities, and disabled from yielding them any assistance; for which reason they gave over the attempt, and were unfortunate; tho' it must be owned, their enemies, those against whom they came to fight, behaved with such virtue and moderation, that they deserved far greater praise than some who were only confederates in that war. Others signalized themselves in the Hellespont, by taking all the ships of the enemy in one day, and by several other victories. I styled this a horrible and unexpected war, because some of the states of Greece carried their enmity to this city so far, as to presume to send an embassy to the king of Persia, their and our most inveterate enemy, to invite, upon their own particular views, that Barbarian into Greece, whom, for the common cause, they had formerly joined with us to drive out of Europe; thus uniting in a league against Athens all the Greeks and Barbarians. Upon which occasion the strength and

valour of this state became most conspicuous. For our enemies looking upon Athens as already vanquished, and having seized some of our ships at Mitylene, These gallant men (for so they confessedly were) whom we now commemorate, went to their relief with sixty sail, and boarding the enemy's ships, gained a victory over them, and delivered their own allies, but met with a lot unworthy of their valour; for their bodies were not, as they ought to have been, taken up out of the sea, but had their burial there. And surely they deserve to be remembered ever with praise and honour. For by their valour we came off victorious, not in that engagement only, but throughout the whole war; and through their bravery was it that our commonwealth gained the reputation of being invincible, though attacked by the united forces of all mankind. Neither hath this reputation been falsified in fact. For we were conquered, not by our enemies, but by our own dissensions. As to Them we remain invincible even to this day. But we have vanquished, have subdued ourselves. After these transactions, a calm ensuing, and a peace betwixt us and other nations, a civil war broke out, which was carried on in such a manner, that, if by the decree of heaven dissensions must necessarily arise, a man would pray that his country might be so and no otherwise distempered. For how easily, how much like friends and fellow-citizens, did the people of the Piræus, and those of the City, run into a reconciliation with each other! and with
how

how much moderation did they lay aside their hostility against those of Eleufis, contrary to the expectations of all Greece! All which is to be ascribed to no other cause than their consanguinity, the natural basis of firm and real friendship. We ought not therefore to pass over in silence even those, who in this war were slain on either side; but, as far as in us lies, endeavour to reconcile them to each other; praying and sacrificing upon these occasions to those Dæmons who have the command and direction over them, inasmuch as we ourselves are reconciled. For they did not attack each other out of hatred and malice, but from the malignity of their Fortune. Of this we ourselves are living evidences, who, being of the same common original with them, have forgiven each other, both what we did, and what we suffered. After this the city had rest, and enjoyed a profound peace, easily pardoning the Barbarians, who having been ill enough treated by this state, returned it but as they ought. But she could not help resenting the behaviour of the Greeks, when she called to mind the benefits they had received, and the retribution they made, by uniting with the Barbarians, depriving us of our ships, to which they formerly owed their own deliverance, and pulling down our walls, in return for our having saved theirs from ruin. The city then having taken the resolution not to give for the future any assistance to the Greeks, whether oppressed by Grecians or Barbarians, remained quiet: upon which the
Lacedæmonians,

Lacedæmonians, imagining that Athens, the Patroness of liberty, was fallen, and that now was the time for them to pursue their proper business, the enslaving of others, set immediately about it. I need not enlarge upon what followed. Those transactions are neither of an ancient date, nor perplexed by a variety of Actors. We all know in what a consternation the chief states of Greece, the Argives, the Bœotians, the Corinthians, applied to this city for succour; and what was the greatest miracle of all, that the king of Persia himself was reduced to such a straight, as to have no hopes of safety from any other quarter, than from this very city, whose destruction he had so eagerly pursued. And, indeed, if Athens can be justly accused of any thing, it is of having been always too compassionate, too much inclined to salve the wounds of the afflicted. For at this very time she was not able to persevere, and to keep to her resolution, of not assisting those in the preservation of their liberties, who had maliciously and designedly injured her. She yielded, she assisted them, and by that assistance rescued them from slavery, and gave them their liberty, till they should think fit to enslave themselves again. She had not indeed the assurance to act so preposterous a part, as to send the king of Persia any succours; she bore too great a reverence to the trophies of Marathon, of Salamis, and Platæa: yet by conniving at the assistance given him by Fugitives, and such as voluntarily entered into his service, she was confessedly

feffedly the caufe of his prefervation. At this time ſhe repaired her fortifications and her fleets, and prepared again for war; finding herſelf under the neceffity of entering into one with the Lacedæmonians, for the protection of the Parians. The king of Perſia, on his part, as ſoon as he ſaw the Lacedæmonians had given over all thoughts of carrying on a war by ſea, took umbrage at the Athenians; and reſolving to break the peace, demanded thoſe Grecian ſtates, which were upon the continent of Aſia, to be delivered up to him (thoſe very ſtates which the Lacedæmonians had formerly conſented to give up) as the condition of his continuing his amity with us and our allies. This Demand he did not imagine would be complied with, and he made it only that he might, upon its being rejected, have a fair pretence for breaking the treaty. But he was miſtaken as to ſome of his Allies; for the Corinthians, the Argives, and the Bœotians determined to comply with his demand, and even entered into a treaty with him, which they confirmed upon oath, to give up the Greeks upon the continent of Aſia, provided he would furniſh them with money. But we, and we alone, had not the aſſurance to abandon thoſe ſtates, much leſs to ſwear to ſuch a treaty. That the city of Athens is ſo ſpirited and ſo frank, ſo conſtant and ſo hearty in the common cauſe, and as it were by nature ſo averſe to the Barbarian, muſt be aſcribed to her being wholly Greek, without any mixture of foreign alloy. For none of your
foreign

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foreign Heroes, Pelops, Cadmus, Ægyptus; Danaus, and many others, who, though living under Grecian Laws, were Barbarians by extraction; none of these, I say, are of the number of our Citizens. We are genuine Greeks, no Half-Barbarians. Hence proceeds the genuine and undiluted enmity of Athens to all Barbarians: Wherefore we were once more left alone, for refusing to do an action so infamous and so impious; as that of delivering up Grecians into the hands of Persians. But being restored to what we had been deprived of in the former war, by the assistance of Heaven we prosecuted this with more success. For becoming once again masters of a fleet, having rebuilt our walls, and recovered our colonies, we were soon freed from a war, which our enemies were very glad to get rid of. In this war we lost indeed many gallant men, some at Corinth by the disadvantage of their situation; others at Lechæum by treachery. Not were they less gallant; who saved the king of Persia, and drove the Lacedæmonians out of the seas: These are the men I would call to your remembrance, and in honouring and praising such as These it becomes all of you to join.

SUCH were the exploits of those brave men, who here lie buried; such were the exploits of those others also, who, though unhappily deprived of burial, died like them in the service of their country: exploits many and great indeed, as hath been related;

lated; but more and still greater yet remain untold; to enumerate all which many whole days and nights would scarce suffice. It is the duty therefore of all and of every particular man to bear these things in mind, and, as in battle, to exhort the children of such Fathers not to quit their rank, in which their ancestors have placed them, by a base and cowardly retreat. Accordingly, I myself, O ye Sons of virtuous men, do now exhort you, and, as long as I shall remain among you, will never cease reminding and exhorting you, to use your utmost endeavours to surpass them in virtue. But upon this occasion it is my duty to tell you what your Fathers, when they were going to expose their lives for their country, commanded us to say to those whom they left behind, in case any accident should befall themselves. I will repeat to you what I heard from their own mouths, and what, if I may judge from the discourse they then held, they would now gladly say to you themselves, were it in their power. Imagine therefore you hear them speaking. These were their words:

“ O CHILDREN! That ye are Sons of virtuous Fathers, is evident from our present circumstances. For having it in our option to live with dishonour, we have generously made it our choice to die, rather than bring ourselves and our posterity into disgrace, and reflect infamy back upon our parents and forefathers; persuaded as we were, that the life of one who dishonours his family, is not worth
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living, and that such a man can have no friend either here upon Earth among mankind, or among the Gods hereafter in the realms below. It behoves you therefore to bear these our words in remembrance, to the end that all your undertakings may be accompanied with virtue; assuring yourselves, that without virtue every acquisition, every pursuit is base and infamous. For wealth can add no dignity to an unmanly mind. The riches of such an one are for others, not for himself. Neither are beauty and strength of Body, when joined with baseness and cowardice, to be deemed ornamental, but disgraceful rather; since, if they make a man more conspicuous, they at the same time make the baseness of his Soul conspicuous also. Wisdom, in like manner, separated from Justice and the rest of the virtues, is not Wisdom, but Cunning. Wherefore in the first place, and in the last, and throughout the whole course of your lives, it is incumbent upon you to labour with all your faculties to surpass us and your progenitors in glory. Otherwise be well assured, that in this contest of virtue, if we remain victorious, the victory will cover us with confusion, which, on the contrary, if obtained by you, will make us happy. The most effectual way for you to surpass us, and obtain this victory,* is so to order your conduct, as neither to abuse nor waste the glory left you by your Ancestors. For can any thing be more ignominious for a man, who would be thought something, than to receive honour, not from

from his own merit, but from the reputation of his forefathers? Hereditary honour is indeed a noble and splendid Patrimony. But to enjoy a fair estate either in fame or money, or for want of a proper supply of wealth and glory of your own, not to be able to transmit it to your posterity is infamous and unmanly. If you endeavour after these things, you will be welcome to us and we to you, whenever your respective fates shall conduct you to us in the world below: but if you disregard them, and become profligate, not one of us shall be willing to receive you. Thus much be spoken to our Children: But to our Fathers and our Mothers, if any of them should survive us, and it should be thought necessary to administer comfort to them, say, that it is their duty patiently to bear misfortunes, whenever they happen, and not to give themselves up to grief: otherwise they will never be without sorrow; for the ordinary occurrences of life will afford sufficient matter for affliction. They should seek to heal and mitigate their troubles in the remembrance, that, as to the most considerable point, the Gods have heard their prayers. For they did not pray that their Children might be immortal, but virtuous and renowned. And This, the greatest of all blessings, they have obtained. It is not easy for mortal man to have every thing fall out according to his wishes in this life. Besides, by bearing their misfortunes with resolution and fortitude, they will gain the opinion of being the genuine parents of magnanimous children, and

of being themselves men of courage and magnanimity; whereas, by sinking under their sorrows, they will raise a suspicion of their not being our Fathers, or Those who shall praise us will be thought to have most grossly flattered us; neither of which things ought to come to pass. They themselves rather should bear chief testimony to our praise, shewing by their actions that they are indeed Men, and the Fathers of Men. The old proverb, *Not too much of any thing*, seems to be well said, and in fact it is so. For he, who hath within himself all that is necessary to happiness, or near the matter, and who doth not so depend upon other men, as to have himself and his affairs in a perpetual fluctuation, according to their good or ill conduct, He, I say, is best provided for this life; He is moderate, He is prudent, He is a Man; and He upon all occasions, whether he obtains or loses an estate or children, will pay the greatest regard to this Proverb: for, placing all his confidence in himself, he will neither be too much elevated with joy, or too much depressed with sorrow. Such men we should think worthy to be our Fathers; such we wish them to be, and such we affirm they are; such likewise are we now proved to be, by neither murmuring nor trembling at death, tho' we were to meet it this instant.⁹ And this same state of mind do we now recommend to our Fathers and our Mothers; intreating them to make use of such sentiments as these thro' the remaining part of their lives; and to be persuaded, that they will
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do us the greatest pleasure, by not weeping and lamenting for us; that, if the Dead have any knowledge of what passes among the Living, their afflicting themselves, and bearing their misfortunes heavily, will be very unacceptable to us; whereas, on the contrary, their bearing their afflictions lightly, and with moderation, will be most pleasing. Our lives and actions are now going to have an end; but such an end, as among Men is deemed most glorious; which therefore ought rather to be graced with honour, than sullied with lamentations. By taking care of our wives and children, by educating the latter, and turning themselves and their minds wholly to such-like employments, they will the more readily forget their misfortunes, and lead a life more exemplary, more agreeable to reason, and more acceptable to us. Let this suffice to be spoken on our part to our relations and friends. To the Commonwealth we recommend the care of our Parents and Children; beseeching Her to give These an honourable education, and to cherish Those in their old age, in a manner worthy of them: but we are sensible that, without this recommendation, all proper care will be taken of them."

THESE things, O Children, and ye Parents of the deceased, have they given me in charge to say to you on their part; and I have most willingly, and to the best of my power, executed their commands. On my own part, and for their sakes, I

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beseech you, ye Sons! to imitate your Fathers; You, Fathers, to take comfort for the loss of these your Sons; assuring yourselves, that both in our public and in our private capacities, we will take care of you and cherish your old-age, as the respective duties and relations of every one of us may require. Ye yourselves well know what provisions the Commonwealth hath made; that by express laws she hath ordered care to be taken of the children and parents of those, who die in battle; and hath given it in charge to the chief magistrate, to take them, above all others, into his particular protection; that the latter may be guarded from all injuries, and the former not be sensible of their orphan state, nor feel the want of a father, whose place the commonwealth supplies, by assisting in the care of their education while they are children, and, when they are grown up to manhood, dismissing them to their several vocations with an honourable present of a complete suit of armour. And this she does, not only with a view of intimating to them, and reminding them of the occupations of their fathers, by presenting them with those implements of valour, which their fathers had so gloriously employed; but also that being arrived to the full strength, and furnished with the armour of a Man, when they first go to take possession of their Household-Gods, they may set out with a good omen. Moreover, she fails not from time to time to pay these anniversary honours to the Deceased; taking upon her to perform

form in general, with regard to them, whatever is due to each from their respective relations; and to complete all, by exhibiting games of different kinds, equestrian and gymnastic, musical and poetical, she effectually supplies the offices of Sons and Heirs to Fathers, of Fathers to Sons, and that of Guardians and Protectors to their Parents and Kindred; discharging at all times all and every part of the duties that belong to All. Learn, therefore, by reflecting upon these things, to bear your afflictions with more patience; for by so doing you will act the most friendly part as well to the dead as to the living, and be better able to give and receive comfort, to cherish and assist each other. And now having jointly paid the tribute of your sorrow to the Deceased, as the law directs, you may all depart.

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